

1940-1954 – *The Vanguard, Socialist Action & Labor Challenge*

Correspondence & documents

Including World War 2 & Revolutionary Workers Party

** Archival Items listed for information only, on file or at National Archives*

1940

- 1940-01Jan12-1a Robertson letter of resignation from the movement
- 1940-01Jan18 “A letter to Leon Trotsky” from J.P. Cannon (SWP)
- 1940-04Apr00-1a Letter to Canadian Civil Liberties Union from M. Dowson
- 1940-04Apr00-1b Reply from Secretary of State, Canada re: Frank Watson case
- 1940-04Apr00-1c Reply from J.S. Woodsworth, House of Commons re: Watson
- 1940-04Apr00-1d Movement press clipping: “Funds urgently need for Watson”

1943

- 1943-1944-0 "R.D. notes on the revolutionary left and World War 2"

1944

- 1944-Oct22-0 “Draft of Minutes of (First pan-Canadian) Montreal Conference”
- 1944-Oct22-13 National Committee Minutes

1946

- 1946-00 “‘The Rise & Fall of the Third International’ (un-published?)
- 1946-02Feb26-1a RD letter to Reg, Vancouver, BC & centre documents on CCF
- 1946-02Feb26-1b Notice of Meeting to hear Malcolm Bruce & Tom Bradley
- 1946-04Apr1-1a RD Letter to Paddy re: his response to the financial appeal
- 1946-05May11a IIB(SWP): Extract from Report by Canadian Comrades
- 1946-07July 22-1a Letter to S. Stanton from RD introducing him to movement

1946-07July22-1b LC Pub. Assn.: book order filled

1946-08Aug10 to Lamont from R.D. re his book order

*1946-Summer (on file only) "*The Strike that changed Canadian labor's course*" by Wilfred List, *Globe & Mail*, Aug. 7, 1971 (history of Steelworkers' epic victory, Hamilton, ON).

1946-10Oct01-1 Minutes of the Founding Convention of the RWP

1946-10Oct9 Letter RD to Ellaline: New from BC and paper distribution

1946-10Oct25 Letter RD to S. Stanton re late book order

1946-10Oct99a (Undated) (leading) "CCF members Quit in BC"

1946-10Oct99c News clip: "Revolt breaks out in Vancouver CCF ranks"

1946-11Nov6 Flyer: Public Meeting RWP on October Revolution & War

1946-11Nov21a Letter to George (Novack, SWP?) Report on RWP

1946-11Nov24a RD letter to Ellaline: re Vancouver book order only

1946-12Dec3 RD to Ellaline, re: Fund drive progress in BC

1947

1947-00-1 RD: Speech on World War II (1939-1945)

1947-01Jan1a RD: "Lenin Memorial/47" (from handwritten notes)

1947-01Jan1b RD: "Lenin & Canadian workers" (from hand notes)

1947-05May6-1a PC-RWP to Comrades of Vancouver Branch

1947-07July99a Letter to Ruth (Bullock, BC) from RD on buyers' strike

1947-08Aug00a (Undated document found in 1947) re labor strife

1947-09Sept-0 Cover IB Vol.1#4(5) RWP: On organizational problems (RD)

1947-11Nov15 LC(49) In Memory of our Fighting Leader Jack MacDonald

1948-01Jan20-1a Unfinished, "unsent" letter from RD to Tom (B, Van.)

1948-01Jan-98	Undated note to Reg (re: <i>Jan. 20 letter?</i>) re: if Bill (W?) and he agreed, the BC branch should act now as Angus suggests
1948-01Jan-99	Undated letter to Reg (<i>Bullock, found in 1948, January</i>) re: our ability to withstand setbacks in Vancouver
1948-02Feb13	Letter to SWP, New York regrets decline plenum invitation
1948-02Feb-19-1	Letter to Reg, re: the daily grind in the centre; sub work; need
1948-06June-07	Letter to Reg: IWA union reportage; CCF convention coverage
1948-06June10	(undated) News clipping "Vancouver MP: A communist?"
1948-07July8-1a	Unfinished "unsent" letter to Reg, Van., re: labor boycotts
1948-07July99	(Undated) Flyer: 24-hour general strike to repeal Bill 39"
1948-08Aug-4ax	Letter to Reg (Bullock) sending SWP union resolutions to BC
1948-10Oct00-1a	Trade Union Report (undated, author unknown)
1948-99	R.D. speech notes on Trotsky's "Problems of Life"

1949

1949-10Oct8a	Letter to Ruth (B, New York): administration chat
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*1940s-1960s	<i>Ross Dowson speech notes: N.A. Fonds 10995 Boxes 21-24</i>
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1950

<i>*1950-July</i>	<i>Education for socialists-SWP (US): "Defense policies and principles of the SWP," by George Novack (on file)</i>
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1951

1951-01Jan5a	Letter to Dear Barry (Brent) re: RD's offer to resign
1951-01Jan7	Letter to Barry re: Talking over Reg's document changes
1951-11Nov23a	To Murray and Barry re: personnel residence options ("not sent")

1951-12Dec99 RD letter to Life, N.Y. re Soviet general's revelations & Spain P7

1953

1953-10Oct13 Letter to Editor, (SWP) *Militant*, protesting error re RD letter

1953-11Nov23 *Globe & Mail*: Trotskyites Said Trying to Infiltrate CCF Ranks

1953-12Dec99 (Flyer found in 1953) Vote Houle Vote Labor B of E Ward 2

1954

1954-01Jan9-1a Minutes of Rosedale CCF Youth protesting action of leaders

1954-04Apr21 Letter to Iceland (Canada) from SWP (JPC?) on Pablo split

1954-09Sept8 Letter to Iceland from SWP (JPC?) congrats over Pablo split

1954-10Oct8 Letter to Farrell (Dobbs, SWP): re: nominations for US school

1954-99a (undated notes) R.D. "Introducing Transitional Program"

1954-99c.jpg RD notes: Pablo dispute around essential need for vanguard party

Jan. 12th, 1940.

Dear Comrades:

It is with the deepest regret that I have come to decide that I can no longer continue as a member of the Socialist Workers' League. The reasons are not simple and are not entirely political. They are chiefly these:

1. I have no confidence in the present political leadership either here or in the United States and I have no longer full confidence in the international leadership. It is not simply a matter of my being at the moment in a minority position on the Buro on the Finnish question. I have often been in a minority position. I have opposed the Cannon leadership ever since I became a member of the American section in 1933. And once, in England, when I led a majority position on a political issue, I changed to the minority position after discussion. Today it is a matter of feeling that the SWL does not contain within its membership the necessary leadership. I do not want to replace the present Buro with others, for I have still less confidence in the others. I feel that a rev. organization must have a leadership which is able to think for itself, independently, creatively. I do not think that, since the retirement of MacDonald and Spector, we have had such a leadership. I have now lost faith that it can be developed out of the available material. Events may prove me wrong, and I hope so.

2. I have developed a number of doubts about revolutionary method. I am not sure but what the seeds of Stalinist bureaucratism were latent in Bolshevik organization itself, and I feel that those seeds are already sown in the Fourth International. I can envisage a Soviet America under Cannon being as ruthlessly and suicidally bureaucratic as Soviet Russia under Stalin. I think the reason for the failure of the 4th International to grow is mainly our own blind sectarian imitation of methods developed to counter different circumstances, those of Russian czarism.

I quite honestly don't know what should be the alternative methods. If I did I would campaign for them. I am just as unoriginal a leader as the rest of you, in that respect.

3. I am coming to feel - though I am not certain about it - that nothing is to be gained by selecting out the USSR for special defense any longer, in any kind of a war. I don't honestly feel that capitalism would be any worse than what seems to be there - which is certainly NOT socialism. ~~It wouldn't be any better.~~ It wouldn't be any better - the difference is not worth fighting for, any more than the difference between Germany and Canada seems worth fighting for. Such a view is not incompatible with membership in the 4th, but it certainly makes membership difficult and somewhat pointless unless one is prepared to campaign vigorously for one's position.

4. I am not prepared to conduct such a campaign. I think the result would be only to disrupt still further an already weak and disintegrating organization here. I am not prepared to take over the burdens of leadership even if my position carried. So the best thing for me to do is to withdraw.

This means that I am still definitely a sympathizer of the League, as it is to me the best of a bad job at socialist organization in

A LETTER TO LEON TROTSKY

New York, January 18, 1940

Dear Comrade Trotsky,

I am enclosing herewith Comrade Burnham's comments on your recent article on the petty-bourgeois opposition. Note the self-revealing first sentence. He shows that he thinks first of all about the reactions of the intellectual camp followers of democratic imperialism. It is unnecessary to point out also that he turns the original dispute with Eastman upside down. Eastman originally claimed to support the whole practical program of Lenin (the "engineering"); at that time, he announced, he simply wanted to make a "revolutionary" revision of Marxism by amputating its "religion" (dialectical materialism). It is amazing how the oppositionists mix up so many simple *facts* as well as ideas.

Resolutions are coming in from practically all the proletarian branches requesting a postponement of the convention in order, among other things, to have a more extended discussion on the questions raised in the first part of your article and Burnham's answer to it. Sneers and wisecracks on the subject of dialectical materialism hold sway among the declassed kibitzers of the Bronx branch (the Shachtman branch) but the proletarians in the party seriously want to know about this "religion," what it is, who is for it, and who is against it, and why.

I think you received a copy of the notice about a "Burnham graduate." Yesterday we received information of another. Robertson, the leader of the minority in Canada—the large majority there is firmly on our side—sent a letter of resignation to the party. The reasons are priceless. First, he does not want to defend the Soviet Union any longer; second, he feels the "despair" of an isolated petty-bourgeois intellectual (he is also by some strange chance a professor); and third, he is very much afraid that an American Soviet government with Cannon at the head of it would be just as ruthless as Stalin. By the way, that is exactly the fear that Burnham expressed almost word for word in a personal conversation with me and Shachtman about the time I wrote you my disturbed letter concerning him two years ago. In that conversation he also told us frankly that he wasn't sure whether the contradictions between his personal life and the responsibilities of a revolutionary leader were subconsciously at the bottom of his differences with us. A few months later Shachtman began to move over into Burnham's orbit. . . .

I am writing to Comrade Dobbs simultaneously. Since he has finally realized his long-deferred visit to you it would be shortsighted to cut the visit short. The length of his stay should be determined by your mutual convenience and desires. We will jog along here in the meantime. I suffer, of course, a great disadvantage and personal annoyance in this situation by the responsibility for administrative details which have to be taken care of somehow. It is like trying to run through a field cluttered with tough vines.

On top of that is the endless speaking. Last night I had to debate once more with Shachtman (on the organization question). I go through such labor with a feeling of physical revulsion; at least two-thirds or three-fourths of the time must be taken up in resetting Shachtman's "quotations" into their proper context and in explaining how his historical references are falsely and disloyally represented in an opposite sense to their real import. I console myself with the thought that in doing this work I am at least acting the part of a good soldier. In debating with Shachtman I crawl on my belly through the mud for the sake of the Fourth International.

With warmest greetings,

J. P. CANNON

(1940) Murray Dawson

Mr. R. A. C. Ballantyne,
Executive Secretary,
Canadian Civil Liberties Union,
1405 Peel Street,
Montreal, Que.

Dear Mr. Ballantyne:

our relationship with

Thank you for your kind letter of November 22nd. ~~The~~ ^{Our} reply was delayed because we had hoped to be able to send you information of a more concrete nature at this time, in respect to ~~the~~ Toronto Civil Liberties Union.

You are no doubt aware that Frank Watson's appeal was rejected. Our committee ~~did~~ ~~not~~ everything that was possible under the circumstances, and we have ~~by~~ no means accepted definitive defeat. On the contrary, we intend to press for his ~~release~~ through the Minister of Justice at Ottawa.

However, we are sadly hampered by the weakness of our committee, and we are in complete accord with your viewpoint that "it would be desirable to have all the Defence of Canada Regulations cases handled by one body". With this perspective in mind, we approached the Toronto C.L.U., but have met with little success as yet. The ~~original~~ trial was sympathetically received by members of the C.L.U., but no official action was taken.

we were advised

Since then, we have tried to establish an official contact with the organization, but it has not been able to take up the matter. ~~However~~, that you were present at its last executive meeting, and as a result the time was taken up with other questions pertinent to your visit. We have since been promised ~~that~~ the matter will come up at an early date.

We shall send you a copy of the evidence if it is possible to do so. We have not yet been able to procure such a copy of the appeal, and will advise you further. In the meantime, any influence that you can direct towards activating the Toronto C.L.U. will be greatly appreciated by our committee, ~~and~~ We are prepared to dissolve our group in a ~~new~~ larger organization required by the situation.

favor of

Sincerely yours,

M. G. Dawson
F.W.Def. Com.

in actual defence work

P. S.: We are sending a copy of this letter to the Toronto organization.

CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

REMISSION
REGISTER
62525
T/GD

Ottawa, 1st of April, 1940.

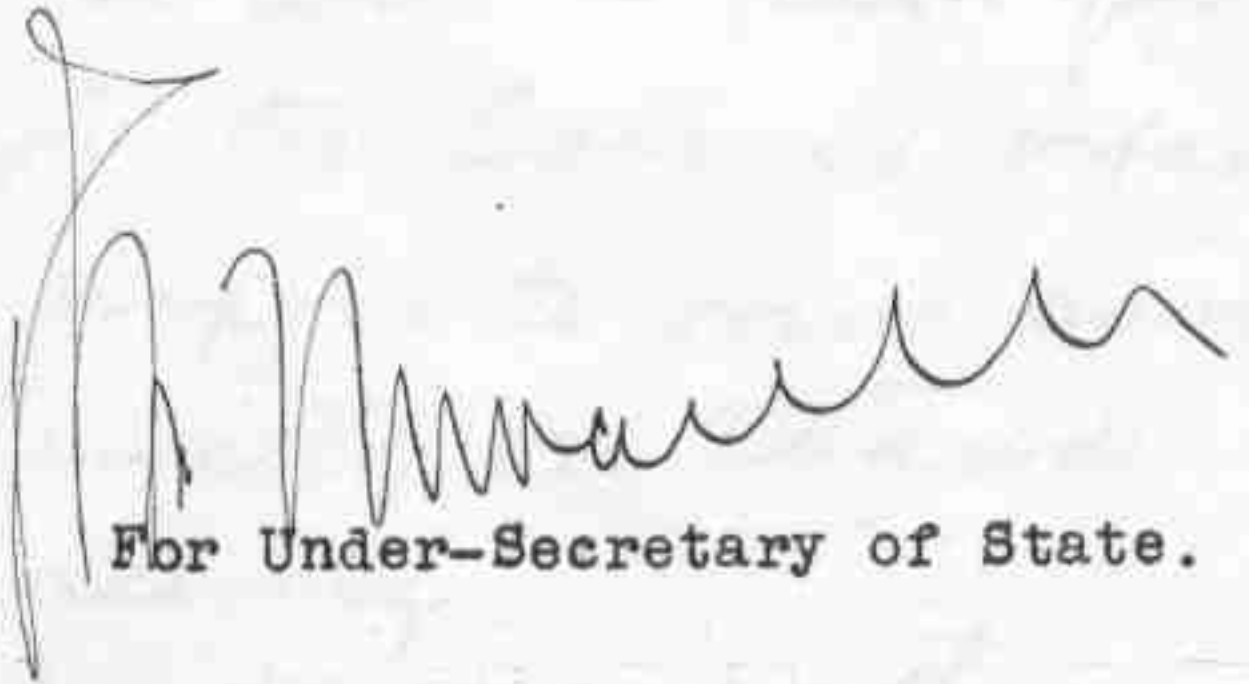
Sir,

Referring to your telegram of the 26th of January last to the Minister of Justice, concerning FRANK WATSON, now detained in the Mimico Reformatory, I have the honour to inform you that His Excellency the Administrator of the Government has had this young man's case under consideration, but does not feel justified in mitigating the sentence imposed by the Court.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,



For Under-Secretary of State.

William Brown, Esq.,
135 Inglewood Drive,
Toronto, Ontario.

*Revised
all names
sent*



House of Commons
Canada

60 Maryland St.,

Winnipeg, Nov. 28, 1939.

Dear Mr. Dawson. —

Undoubtedly, I am much interested in the defence of our civil liberties and although, forced by ill-health to take a less active part than I have been doing I do have opportunities for publicizing such situations as that concerning Frank Watson. But I would say frankly that your own appeal is not sufficient. Under what board are you operating? Anonymity does not inspire confidence. As far as the C. E. F. is concerned it would be well to have your appeal come through the Interior's organization. In the meantime I propose to bring some influence to bear directly on Ottawa.

Yours sincerely,

J. S. Woodsworth (per L. L. W.)

FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED FOR

Rallying to the aid of one of the first victims of war-time persecution, American militants, in a living demonstration of international solidarity, formed this week the Watson Defense Fund in behalf of Frank Watson, English-Canadian worker arrested on the streets of Toronto Sept. 15 by the Dominion police for his outspoken denunciation of the imperialist war.

The American Labor Aid, initiator of the Defense Fund, had been approached with appeals

from members of Canadian labor organizations to assist them in the struggle for Watson's liberation. Despite the war-time dictatorship that exists in the Dominion, making extremely difficult the distribution of propaganda calling upon Canadian workers to support the struggle for Watson's freedom, many individuals and members of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, the Fourth Internationalist Socialist Workers League and other labor organizations have already been

active in the Watson Defense Committee.

A Call to Arms

Mary Green, National Secretary of the American Labor Aid, commenting on the arrest of the Canadian militant, stated, "The Watson case is the first example on our continent of the effects of the present war upon the rights and liberties of the people on whose behalf it is supposedly waged. It is a danger signal to the workers and genuine fighters for liberty throughout America. It is a call

WATSON DEFENSE!

to arms in the defense of civil rights during the difficult period ahead."
 Arrested one week after Canada's declaration of war upon Germany, Watson, speaking in Toronto from the platform of the Socialist Workers League, declared, "We are being asked to fight for a democracy which forces women to work at nine cents a day in the coal mines of India, which compels the Negro workers of South Africa to live in a pestilential ghetto and to carry as many as eleven passes in order to move about, a democracy which confiscates the land of Kenya farmers and forces them into wage labor at starvation rates. The British Empire," Watson continued, "is no democracy but a ragbag of territories stolen from other peoples during the last 200 years."
 Calling upon the workers of Canada to resist and oppose a war in which they have nothing to gain and everything to lose, Watson exclaimed, "Workers, (Continued on Page 3)

Article from **The Militant** (SWP, New York) – corrected version of text:

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GROWING PROTEST MOVEMENT CHALLENGES WATSON ARREST

(Continued from Page 1)

an ex-recruiting sergeant, lied when they inferred that the large crowd which listened to Watson resented his anti-war statements. On the contrary, the crowd listened with great sympathy to his address. They murmured approval when Watson pointed out the slight differences existing between fascist rule in Germany and the military dictatorship in England.

When the arrest came on that fateful evening, it was counter to the wishes of the assembled workers. The police tried in vain to persuade the workers to appear in court on the side of the prosecution. Having failed to convince any of the workers at that meeting to appear against Watson, the authorities fell back on the testimony of the soldier and the ex-recruiting sergeant, both of whom had put in the call to the police for the arrest.

More than seven hundred workers gathered about Watson as the police waited for re-inforcements to clinch the arrest. Members of the Socialist Workers League in the milling crowd heard sympathetic comment on all sides. One worker resentfully pointed out that Oswald Mosley, the hated British fascist leader, was permitted to hold open meetings on the streets of London while the anti-fascist Watson faced arrest and conviction for daring to voice honest working class opinion.

Wide Resentment

The brazen arrest and conviction of Watson has already had wide repercussions throughout the Dominion. Every day brings more news of the growing forces that are rallying to the defense of this young anti-war fighter.

A public meeting called by the University of Toronto C.C.F. (Social-Democrats) to discuss the preservation of civil rights adopted a unanimous resolution protesting the conviction of Watson.

Bert Leavens, Ontario Provincial Secretary of the C.C.F., and a prominent trade unionist, has publicly stated that socialists would not give up the struggle "until Watson is released."

At a meeting of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order funds were raised from its members, many of whom are outstanding ministers of this city, for the Watson Defense. Speakers at this meeting linked the fight for Watson with the defense of the seventy-five Canadian clergymen, ministers of the United Church of Canada, who have published an open manifesto against the war. The ministers

have already been threatened with prosecution under the same act which was used to convict Watson.

In Winnipeg, members of the I.W.W. have declared their support of the Watson Defense Committee while in Saskatchewan, prairie center of Dominion, prominent C.C.F.ers have also rallied to his support.

The Canadian section of the Fourth International has been active in collecting money for the Defense Fund and has pursued independent action by the issuance of leaflets and stickers. The stickers continue to appear in public places despite police efforts to destroy them.

The War Measures Act, under whose provisions Watson was convicted, has become the main weapon in the enforcement of the Canadian military dictatorship. Repressions continue at such a pace that it is difficult, because of the press censorship, to determine the number already arrested. It is estimated that at least thirty workers have been jailed in Ontario alone, the latest victims being four Anarchist workers who were arrested in a raid on the home of one of them. Also among the latest arrests are a preacher of the Church of the Illuminati and a member of his congregation.

Public attention, however, continues to focus on the case of Watson. Although the terms of the Act under which Watson was convicted had not been made public at the time of his trial, he was the first person arrested under its provisions and has suffered the most severe sentence. The Watson case, which first drew wide publicity in the Toronto press and which has already received comment in the Commonweal, liberal Catholic monthly, has been given the greatest publicity by the Socialist Appeal, American organ of the Fourth International. The collection of funds by the American Defense Committee is proving of the greatest service in the fight for Watson's liberation. Watson's appeal will be heard sometime in November.

American Labor Aid
125 West 33 Street
New York City
Dear Friend:

I PLEDGE MYSELF to contribute \$..... to the defense of Frank Watson, imprisoned by Canada's government for the crime of speaking out as a worker against the war of imperialism.

Notes for a document on the revolutionary left and World War 2

in R.D.'s handwriting, circa 1943-4

(italicized notes by the Website Editors JD & CEO)

With the outbreak of the second world war and particularly since the collapse of France the war program of Bolshevism – revolutionary defeatism – has fallen into the disfavour of many who formerly claimed to understand it and to accept it. As always in periods of crisis when bourgeois propaganda becomes more intense and class lines sharpen ideas and institutions which heretofore had been accepted with little question, take on new forms and assume a new significance.

In 1912 at Basle, the Social Democrats issued a manifesto which visualized the then coming war as a war being conducted “for the profits of capitalists” and “the ambitions of dynasties” and went on further to state that socialists must take advantage of the “economical and political crises created by it to hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule.” However when this war which was so clearly foreseen and precisely analysed came to pass, the Second International on a world scale scurried to the defence of the sacred borders and rights of the bourgeoisie. Kautsky, leader of the German Social Democrats and the most prominent figure in the Second International recognized the equal right of **all** belligerent nations to “defend the fatherland.” The Social Democrats in all countries, where ever they were of influence, accepted portfolios in the capitalist governments, passed war credits and recruited the workers into the bourgeois army.

Essentially the program of world Social Democracy in 1914 was the still familiar program of war on two fronts. The Kautskys and the Plekhanovs realizing only too well that the workers were unwilling to fight for nothing and many were conscious of the class nature of the war, saw in the propaganda of the bourgeoisie what the bourgeoisie wished them to see. The cooperation of the Social Democrats particularly in France and Germany where they were respected by the workers was vital to the successful prosecution of the war. The bourgeoisie as they do today, adjusted their propaganda to seduce the workers. And as they do today they promised the workers and farmers upon the defeat of the enemy a world better than they had ever known in vague terms, true but a world where there would be greater equality and happiness.

(Struck out paragraph) The first tasks for socialists according to Plekhanov (*a leading Russian Marxist in the pre-1917 period, of comparable stature to Kautsky in Germany, who also nevertheless abandoned his support for Bolshevik-led Revolution –ed.*) who was in an Allied country—was to defeat Russian militarism, and German Kultur and to defend the sacred borders of Russia, or Belgium, or France. “Of course we remain awake to the preservation of our social gains at home but the defeat of the Kaiser and the preservation of our borders is first and foremost. If German militarism overruns Europe the future of the working class will be dark indeed.” Likewise, Kautsky’s co-thinkers pledged themselves to the right of Germany to colonial expansion, to the defence of the borders of Germany and her allies and the preservation of her social legislation. First the defeat of the enemy, on guard against reaction at home but first defeat of the enemy.

This also is the program of the present day partisans of war on two fronts. (*end of struck out paragraph –ed.*)

Today adherents of this theory of war on 2 fronts have two origins. The one group are old hands at the game – the diehard reformist types who just a short 4 years ago pedalled pacifism and League of Nations securities. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (*CCF, the agrarian based farmer-labor party formed in 1933, precursor to the N.D.P. – ed.*) is the Canadian species. When the King government pledged the Canadian workers to the defence of Britain's right to colonial exploitation, the CCF who for years claimed to be anti war plunged into the fray with the Liberals and Conservatives. Woodsworth, their parliamentary leader and a convinced pacifist immediately resigned from the position. Did the CCF demand that the workers and farmers vote on Canadian participation? NO. Instead we witnessed the CCF accept Canadian participation as an empire duty, vote the war appropriations and today their parliamentary group is indistinguishable from the bourgeois parties.

The other group includes two types but remains a group by virtue of the fact that all of its components claimed to have once accepted the theory of revolutionary defeatism but with the outbreak of World War 2 have found the error of their ways. Because of their past – their present ideas have wide circulation in the bourgeois press. They function much the same as stooges at Billy Sunday's revival meetings. To the CCF the decay of the Soviet Union is seen as the logical fruit of revolutionary methods – Lenin and Trotsky's policy of revolutionary defeatism. The second group is much more subtle in its understanding. Nothing succeeds like success. Obviously the Bolshevik's revolutionary defeatism achieved the first successful social revolution. Their task is to demonstrate therefore that revolutionary defeatism was correct at that period "in the situation that existed between Russia and Germany in 1917 – but today provides no parallel." At Geneva in August 1915 Lenin in collaboration with Zinoviev first formulated in a precise manner the revolutionary position on war (imperialist war) as opposed to the social chauvinism of victory of one's own government or neither victory nor defeat. Strange to say Lenin held this same position at Basle in 1912 and retained it up to his death in 1924. Obviously revolutionary defeatism could not have been formulated for peculiar conditions existing between Russia and Germany in 1917.

Lenin and his co-thinkers throughout the world look upon their position on imperialist wars as a logical expression of internationalism, of the brotherhood of the workers of all countries. Kautsky actually said "that the International is an instrument of peace time." What can one say for internationalism which fails to function in crises? The Eastmans and Stracheys (*American and British renegades –ed.*) expose the real depth of their internationalism when they tell the English and American worker that he is fighting fascism when he shoots his Italian and German comrades. The workers in the opposite trenches failed to comprehend Kautsky's internationalism as they failed to comprehend Eastman's. But they did understand Liebknecht's and Luxemburg's, Lenin's and Trotsky's.

Eastman and his co-thinkers raise another point which they claim makes it no longer possible for progressively minded persons to support Lenin's revolutionary defeatism – and that is the new nature of warfare. The war of 1914-18 was one of trench warfare, armies moved slowly, forces stagnated and demoralization set in. Due to the immobility of armies it therefore was possible to struggle for workers power without greatly increasing the probability of an enemy victory – in other words it was possible to have revolution in the rear without greatly weakening the front. Today the army is highly mechanized and moves so rapidly that this is no longer possible. These new friends of the bourgeoisie conveniently forget that the nature of warfare in 1914-17 was as new to Lenin as the blitzkrieg is to us. Prior to 1914 the only war of any size conducted by a European power was the Boer War – when Britain stole South Africa. In 1914 the French and German general staffs fully expected to defeat one or the other inside of a couple of weeks – or as rapidly as Hitler's blitzkrieg until it came up against the Russian workers. In other words Lenin expected a blitzkrieg.

Lenin in "Socialism and War" doesn't touch the subject of temporary military alliances nor the technological development of the military arts. He does however dwell to some length on the "why" of the war. Lenin came to the conclusion that the war of 1914-1918 was an imperialist war. German capitalism was struggling for a share of the colonies – for the export of capital and manufactured articles and the import of raw materials. Colonies which due to the lateness of her arrival on the capitalist scene she did not possess (and while) England and France possessed many. The struggle was to determine the control of the world market. The war of 1914 was not one of colonial liberation such as one of India against England which socialists must support nor was it a progressive war such as the war of German unification in 1871 which Engels supported. The war of 1914-18 was an imperialist war. The war of 1940- – is also an imperialist war. Not a shred of Lenin's logic is worn. The situation is identical.

But Eastman stops us there. "Yes perhaps the war is imperialist but surely you don't want a victory of Hitler – you don't want the Canadian workers to suffer as do the German workers – naturally not." By this logic it would appear that the 1940 war is one against Fascism – greatest enemy of the working class. Is this war – incidentally imperialist but actually anti-fascist? The fact that the fascist states of Germany and Italy are on one side does not make the opponents anti fascist nor their victory a blow against fascism. Germany and Italy are fascist because neither have an India or Africa to exploit and the Italian & German workers, unwilling to permit their masters to further exploit them, organized, fought, lost, and had the fascist state raised on their backs. German and Italian fascism is German and Italian capitalism ruling with an iron fist. Eastman would have accused Lenin of being very shallow minded or perhaps even a traitor in the last war if he had applied his logic. There can be no question that the German worker under the Kaiser was much better off than the Russian worker under the Czar. In Russia workers starved, socialists and liberals rotted in dungeons. In Germany the socialist movement flowered with members in the house (*parliament*), large coops, social legislation, etc. And yet Lenin refused to have anything to do with German officialdom and insisted on a sealed car for the trans-Germany trip (*from Switzerland to Russia in 1917 –ed.*) Why? Because Lenin analyzed the bourgeoisie as no longer players of a progressive role – in

society. Both (all of them) German, Russian, British and American. If the bourgeoisie of 1914 was a reactionary force the bourgeoisie of 1941 was an ultra reactionary force in society.

War is a continuation of politics by another means. This statement remains as true today as when Clausewitz first made it. The war of 1939 – is a continuation of the politics of the bourgeoisie by another means. British and German capitalism could no longer achieve their ends by treaties, trade pacts and other methods which the bourgeoisie called peaceful. The bourgeoisie is always at a state of war but the war could no longer be modified or canalized into economic struggles. The British and French bourgeoisie could no longer play the game of Munich and maintain their world control. The British bourgeoisie had to arm the workers to defend their interests. And what are their interests(?) At Munich they demonstrated their belief in the independence of nations with their handing over of Austria and (Czechoslovakia(?); in Palestine and the Evian Conference, their love of the Jews. In India, their belief in the self determination of peoples. With the imprisonment of Nehru and the labor leaders, in all possessions their love of democracy & freedom of speech. (Spain?) The British bourgeoisie is interested in the defence of their capital. In the defence of this capital with the workers' blood.

Bevan can assure American labor that British labor is not fighting an imperialist war. But (*British Prime Minister*/) Bevan does not determine the nature of the war. Bevan & Co. remain the power that they are in the British parliament only in so far as they function in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Could Lord Halifax get the British workers to toil the long hours that Bevan has? Even the existence of a Labor government in Britain would in no manner change the imperialist nature of the war. As long as the bourgeoisie retain control of production and the state apparatus Bevin's and Laskin's assurances to the workers are hollow mumbles.

Lenin arriving at his position on war failed to analyze the line up of world powers (*some say –ed.*) The Dwight Macdonalds and all partisans of war on 2 fronts however do draw our attention to the nature of the states of Hitler's allies and Great Britain's allies and though ignoring Poland and Greece and several other unimportant exceptions see the forces of democracy lined up against the forces of reaction, Germany and Italy. But one big flaw has crept into their argument and that is the entry of Russia on the side of the democratic states. The Eastmanites consider the USSR a dictatorship, not the dictatorship of the proletariat, but a state almost as reactionary as Germany, and are opposed to the defence of the Soviet Union. Surely this must put them in a quandary—how can England be fighting for democracy and have an alliance with the USSR. As long as the USSR was allied with Germany everything was crystal clear (*the Stalin-Hitler Pact –ed.*) except for fly specs such as Poland & Greece. One understands what their position would be if Italy changed sides as she did in the last war. Probably they would be compelled to add up the populations in the various countries and choose the side containing the largest number of persons living under bourgeois democratic states.

Marxism has the breadth, the clarity, the incisiveness of a scientific law. The war of 1939 was an imperialist war when the USSR was neutral, an ally of Germany and ally of

Britain. We were for the defence of the USSR to the last drop of our blood when Stalin attacked Finland and Britain supplied the arms and we are for the defence of the USSR with Hitler attacking and the Russian workers receiving aid from Britain. We were for the defence of the USSR because of their nationalized industry, nationalized banks and the foreign trade monopoly of the Russian workers – the heritage of the October Revolution. In their fight against Hitler the partisans of war on two fronts, now joined by the vociferous Stalinists, pay lip service to internationalism by distinguishing the worker from Hitler as getting less but still (...) The British bourgeoisie can never split the German workers from Hitler; only the British workers can. (*Since the punitive treaty of – ed.*) Versailles the workers remember the 1923 starvation – the same in 194--?

War is the continuation of the politics of the bourgeoisie by another means. Confound their politics. The class struggle continues war or no war. During the crisis of the bourgeoisie the class struggle intensifies, becomes deeper and strikes at the very root of the bourgeois state. Socialists must continue their struggle for socialism. Every strike victory, war industry or not is a blow against Hitler, is a blow against fascism.

(Further rough notes in National Archives, Ottawa)

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6 copies

(Wartime)

THE UNCORRECTED DRAFT OF THE MINUTES OF THE
MONTREAL CONFERENCE. Oct. 22-21 1944

These minutes make no pretence at completeness
If there are any errors or omissions of importance

please notify the national secretary.
The assistant secretary must apologize for the sketch-
iness of the report of the discussion on French Canada

MINUTES OF MEETING, First National Conference Canadian Section 4th Int.

Montreal, Oct. 21-22, 1944

Present: Montreal, 4; Toronto, 4; Ottawa, 2; Vancouver, 1; Prince Rupert, 2
Also representative International Secretariat.

Morning Session, Oct. 21; Chairman, F, Montreal, Recording Secy, K, Ottawa.
M, Tor: Reviewed significance meeting, first national occasion in history
movement, bringing together isolated groups of our tendency in
Canada. Proposed greetings to Com. Natalie Trotsky and our
movement in other countries.

Int. Rep: Our discussions paralleling discussions in the international
movement; a prelude to great historic events. The American
and I.S. send greetings and promise aid for our efforts.

Chair: Agenda proposed and adopted:

1. Reports from groups
2. Report on CCL Convention
3. International Report
4. Tasks and Perspectives: Program.
 - (a) Party
 - (b) National Secretary
 - (c) Paper
 - (d) Finances
 - (e) Transitional Program
 - (f) French Canada
 - (g) Next Meeting

REPORTS: Toronto

R. (Tor): Reporting in absence D, who has acted as temporary secy.
Reviewed situation across Canada since his trip 2 years ago,
when the picture was very dim. Organization had scattered
adherents, a weak internal structure with only Toronto function-
ing as an organized group. Biggest other section was in Van-
couver.

Since then there has been a general consolidation. The
Toronto group has provided the basic cadres since the inception
of Canadian section and still remains the political centre of
the Canadian section. This is a natural result of its providing
the apparatus, but it is by no means a permanent necessity.

In recent period there has been an upswing in organization
and in discipline in Toronto. Core is a solid group of 15
members, nearly all in CCF, $\frac{3}{4}$ of membership in trade unions.
The set-up is one central group with a directing executive
ctte.

The group initiated a series of discussions on the Canadian
situation, our attitude towards the CCF, and made initial
preparations for this Conference.

Trade union activity, due in part to help from American
comrades, has developed very favorably lately. We have good
faction in De Haviland local of UAW, have brought in two members
to the organization from this local. This is our first step
away from our isolation and indicated the future line. In the
same local we have developed a CCF Industrial Unit, with a large
and progressive CCF group.

Though nearly all our comrades are members of CCF Constituency clubs, these are not at present offering much ground for useful work. In York Township a very fine club of working class composition has just been built by our comrades there. This should provide a recruiting ground for our organization.

We are conducting marxist study classes, both open and internal.

Toronto has a wide perspective and the comrades are showing the energy necessary to build our organization there.

Outside contacts are widely scattered; two in Niagara Falls, 1 in Windsor, and 1 in Wisetown, Sask., who keeps contact and contributes money, propagates our ideas. He sent money to help finance this Conference.

Question: Composition of the Toronto Group?

7 are TU members, scattered, with the exception of two in de Havilland local. 1 in Transport Union, 1 in shipyards, 1 in ILGWA, 1 in Cloakmakers, 1 in Bookbinders. Two are on boards of locals and 1 is shopsteward. Average age is about 32. There are only two female comrades. Most comrades have been in the movement a long time.

12 comrades are in the CCF, but only where we have built our own club is there an opportunity for fruitful work.

The external study group has 8 members, of which two are aluminum workers and the others from the UAW.

Social composition of group: 2 housewives, 1 toolmaker, 2 welders, 1 boilermaker, 1 street car conductor, 1 baker, 1 bookbinder, 2 in needle trades, 1 social worker, 1 office worker, 1 in army and 1 called up for army.

Finances, dues are 50 cents per week. Treasury had just over \$200 before Conference. Group possesses 1 typewriter, 2 mimeographs and 1 multigraph.

The CCYM in East York and the WEA offer useful fields for work. The latter is almost completely Stalinist-controlled.

We have been recently approached by Ukrainian comrades who were formerly in our organization; there may be a possibility of a revival here.

Summary: Toronto has a wide opportunity, a fair technical equipment, an experienced and active membership. The national organization should expect much from Toronto in assisting its organization.

Int. Rep: Confirmed this appraisal.

P. (Br. Rupert)

Vancouver

In absence of Com. T, reviewed history of Vanc. organization. Was largely a propagandist and literary organization of some 15 members, which disintegrated when American movement literature cut off. Members were called up, joined army, or took jobs in the woods or elsewhere out of Vancouver. Similarly, the youth had Spartacus League in the CCYM, with 12 members, but this group broke up at the beginning of the war. 1942 found group isolated in the CCF, which in turn was badly demoralized. Of 62 former CCF clubs in Vancouver only 30 exist today.

CCF had poor trade union policy in boilermakers, failed to mobilize forces inside and Stalinists seized control. The defeat has taught them lesson; now they operate as caucus.

Year ago, P left Vancouver for Prince Rupert.

R (Tor)

Confirms R report, own opinion group needed conscious political orientation. Lamont capitulated to war hysteria and he was ideological leader of group. R and P held one meeting but were unable to stay and consolidate results. Since then, correspondence with Mrs.M hasnt given clear picture.

Report on situation today in Vancouver left for arrival Com. T. See later minutes.

P (Pr.Rupert)

Report on Prince Rupert

Year ago P left Vanc for Rupert, started to organize social and sports ctte in Boilermakers. Used this to build CCF Industrial Unit there. Stalinists tried to jump P in Union elections but failed. He President local; largest labour organization in Rupert. In last elections, Stalinists didnt run candidate against him. Met Com A, who after becoming acquainted our position, joined. He also in Boilermakers. He is secy Educational Ctte, which formerly dominated by stalinists. P carried on economics class, 7 members; open also to other unions.

Boilermakers Local has 400 members of 1000 employed in shipyard. Takes lead in all working class activity in town. Stalinists have been practically eliminated from every executive position in union, 1 left. Union executive contains good material; they read our literature. Also good elements to work with in CCF Industrial Unit; all raw material untouched or corrupted by stalinists, willing and anxious to learn, average age about 32.

There are two CCF clubs in Rupert, but other is dominated by individual linked with provincial executive. The industrial unit is demanding more voice. Looks like CCF seat in next election. Candidate is close to us, reads our literature, used Cannon's Trial book for basis radio speech. Now in RCAF, was formerly Boilermaker.

Summary: 2 members at present, but think can organize good group if shipyards continue operate. Workers are young and militant. Pulled succesful sit-down strike in solidarity with other union which netted 40 new members Boilermakers.

Perspective is immediate organization of group.

A (Pr. Rup)

Supplementing P; there was resistance to Stalinists previously but not with conscious leadership until arrival P with our literature. Another comrade in army has also helped circulate literature.

Int Rep:

We have branch in Price Rupert, but we havent organized it yet. We should take these people in right away. Organize Rupert branch of SWP right away. They need to learn the function and role of the party for socialism. They must be organized on a higher plane than union or CCF. We must tell them it is illegal organization. This must be polarizing centre for more members. Good work of comrades but more important, indicates temper of Canadian workers.

P (Pr. Rup.) These were green workers, felt had to educate them first.

Int. Rep:

No arguement against education, but workers must be educated in the party, combining theory with practise. You have now reached the stage where their political education must be

raised to higher level by working inside the party to give them a rounded political education. We must take the best elements at hand and bring them into the party to form our hardened revolutionary cadres.

JM (Mont) Suggest putting ways and means on agenda, for building party. Comrades brought in too green may be challenged and defeated if put on a spot too soon.

Int Rep: Agreed, but green workers agreeing with our basic ideas can be brought in, learn how party works. We will not put them in positions they cannot defend. Will have later discussion on practical means of organizing party.

Above conclusions generally agreed.

L (Ottawa) Report on Ottawa
City basically white-collar government workers, was no activity until two years ago when grievances among civil servants over low wages, housing.
Two members moved from Toronto two years ago, joined the single CCF Club. Only big plant Ottawa Car.
Now CCF has four clubs Ottawa district, biggest in Ottawa, where one ~~xxx~~ comrade secy and second largest, comrade is Pres.
With formation Recreational Association Civil Servants, looked like good bet reach lower salaried workers, we joined. This organization 12,000 members paying monthly check-off 25¢.
K. Members RA Board Directors, but find it difficult put our ideas before membership; recruiting to CCF only perspective. Have had some success here. Activity inside CCF thusfar very disappointing; civil servants restrictions against participating political activity makes these recruits reluctant play active role CCF.

CCF growth, from 40 in city to 160 Ott South, 40 Ott East. Situation offers little possibility immediate growth our movement in Ottawa. Composition CCF predominately petty bourgeois, conservative.

K(Ottawa) Agree with L: Have helped build CCF but not our own membership. Holding too many jobs, have no chance reach rank and file that would make good material. Only in last 6 months have made headway in turning CCF to trade union affiliation and CCYM organization. Own club fails to reach predominately French population of constituency. Got RA consolidated too late to capitalize on wave of spontaneous strikes in govt departments among low paid workers. Tried work with CCL for union in RA; they suggested CCF cooperation, but CCF refuse participate in org for fear of criticism. Think should abandon RA/try consolidate on influence in CCF to leave some organization when leave Ottawa as expect in near future. Might be able organize ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ working class club in Ottawa South.

Agreed comrades leave Ottawa soonest, try consolidate position before.

Session adjourned.

Afternoon session, P (Prince Rupert) Chairman.

F(Mont) Report on Montreal

There was no organization in Montreal 3 years ago. Now we have four members. 1 in millinery factory, 1 in aircraft factory, 1 office worker, 1 trade union journalist. 3 are in unions, 3 in CCF, 2 on provincial executive of CCF, 2 on Union executives. F works mainly in CCF, P and E mainly TU's, JM works in both. Basic problem of Montreal group is to reach French workers; the real proletariat in Quebec. CCF does not know how to reach Fr. workers, labels their grievances as nationalistic, throws them back on Fr. nationalist parties. The Fr workers can become the most revolutionary force in North America. JM our first Fr comrade.

There is a sympathetic group in Quebec City which was close to Fieldites, but had differences on policy towards Fr Canada. For that reason necessary to reach principled position that clarifies our attitude.

The Fr. workers expect more from CCF than it can offer. Our comrades believe we have a program which can win support of Fr workers.

F conducts educational course in CCF. F and E planning formation of CCF club in W.C. district. JM in new club of good composition, east end Mont.

JM overworked, edits three papers and in CCF, needs to drop some activity. E in machinists union, stalinist lodge where membership hostile to her. Has one supporter. Union includes only 20% of membership at factory, E has taken active part, helped lead sit-down strike which increased prestige union.

P long time member Millinery Union, now trying organize industrial unit CCF.

Have tangled with CCF bureaucrats in provincial council on British Labour Party, scored tactical victory.

JM(Mont)

A few more facts; entered party a short while ago, had gone in CCF to learn their attitude, together with QC comrades. Were labelled Trotskyists. QC CCF Club has 225 members. At least 4 are very close to us, 2 theoretically well grounded, 1 former CPer. These give lead to club in QC. In public meetings, speak against war, describing it imperialist, capitalist.

CCL has between 25,000-30,000 membership Quebec, its paper has 20,000 good circulation. We have free hand in paper, give rev. lead.

CCF paper has censoring ctte, but can get strong articles in it. Its circulation 10,000.

Alum paper, has free hand; it will be twice monthly, circulation can go to 35,000

JM and E are on TU Ctte of CCF which has not been active lately.

P(Mont)

All work of group has been concentrated in CCF, has not carried outside and this of little value to us, workers not aware of our existence. Our talks in and out of CCF have been vague and not revolutionary, tactics not definite. P not enthusiastic about CCF, it is petty bourgeois and does not try bring in TU's, TU ctte only functions for elections. P tried organize industrial unit CCF but in doubt about continuing as may be leaving Montreal.

JM(Mont)

Wishes correct statement of fact by P; can express rev views in CCFmontreal, and have expressed them from CCF platforms. In Rouyn election, gave outline revolutionary position and this reported in press.

Question: What is disagreement with Quebec City group?

JM (Mont)

V considers himself Marxist, wants to know our position on Fr.

Canada.

- M(Tor) Think V has been handled incor ectly. He should be encouraged into organization to fight for his position inside. This should not have been allowed to become an excuse for staying outside.
- JM(Mont)
F(mont) V wants precise terms out slogan self-determination. V agreed with me in discussion on Fr Canada; wants to see now if I interpret org's position correctly. Re criticism Com P, he has failed join CCF so doesnt know what is happening there. We are forming wc club in district, JM joined wc club, we have two good contacts Northern Electric, though one approached us through Schatman's article in Politics. Study class in CCYM covers marxian economics and marx applied to current affairs. But we need transitional program applied to Canadian scene within CCF so can translate theory into concrete practise.
- Question: Does group carry on internal study class, does it meet regularly and plan its work?
- R(Mont) Didnt meet regularly before, but do now, every week, carry on study and report on work, plan for next week. Only class is in CCYM, which has some excellent contacts.
- Int. Rep: Evident Montreal comrades doing lot of work; think JM doing too much. Question of which should be sacrificed. All seems have great possibilities. Must bring contacts in party or cant get best results from activity. It is wrong practically and politically to do too many things. Same problem with F; he is taking on too much. Does influence measure up to reputation? If so, you have a following who must be ready to step out with you. If not, then you are isolating yourself. If you have the contacts, then the primary job is to consolidate, bring them into org. Dont agree with P, though he may be right in some respects. But must not discount CCF, must win people in it. Comrades have laid wonderful basis; now it must be supplemented by deliberate work of consolidation, bring into party and build a protective layer of left-wingers around our activity. You have taken a big bite but you must digest it or you will suffer from political indigestion.
- F(Mont) Think we all agree these conclusions. Burocracy has tried split up Quebec City club but we have resisted it; they are not yet too big for us to fight. We have not alienated those around us as have been asked to come back to clubs where have spoken before. We must concretize our position around our transitional program.
- R(Tor)
F(Mont) Have raise certain transitional demands in past in our paper. Yes, and one, workers control of industry, has been well received, but we need concrete position on Fr Canada.
- General discussion followed around the position of JM, which of his several important posts he may have to drop, conclusion was that he and Montreal comrades must make the decision on this. Also, the question of Com E on the tu executive in isolation. Com E pointed out that position had some advantages in tipping her off on events coming up; she has taken no responsibility for the policy of the leadership. Point was made that executive positions are only of value insofar as they help build our organization.

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EVENING session 8.30

Chairman -- L Ottawa.

Motion that V Quebec be permitted to attend tonight's discussion on French Canadian question. Carried

Resume of P Prince Rupert report added to by T Vancouver.

-T Vancouver. Joined in 1938. Small. Early 39 C.H. came to Vancouver to organize. Had disagreements with G.L. on his position on trade unions and Finland. Break final when G.L. took social patriotic position on the war.. Tried in 39 to form anti war group. Hired hall and had 3-4 meetings and spoke in Stanley Park CCF. Gathered a few elements together. Spanish war veteran etc. Was only a left wing group. G.L. tried to break it up. Group disintegrated. Personal contact maintained with Mrs G and K. P went to Prince Rupert. L joined up after trip east and is carrying on good work in I.W.A. We have about 20 very close to us in CCF acting as left wing. Accept our position but not a conscious 4th group. We feel we should operate in this manner at present time. Met L a few times. Were suspicious of him at first. He has contact with what we consider doubtful elements

In N Vancouver club--4 Stanley Park 4 Hastings East 3 Connections in Victoria Kamloops and Prince Rupert. Have set up committee coordinating work in 3 clubs. I want to know how do we operate as open party or fraction in CCF Have discussed with L who promised to get information from N.Y.

Question --What is social composition.

Answer--2 Boilermaker Union, Civic employees Union, IWA, Office worker, Sub formen etc.

Question How does group function.

Answer--There is a committee of 5 to coordinate work in CCF. Held 3 large meetings so far. All consider ~~themselves~~ themselves trotskyites.

-I.S. N.Y. opinion on Canada situation unchanged. L now has their advise.

Motion that ~~discussion~~ discussion be postponed on French Canada

International Report by I.S.

Read the draft of a report to national convention of SWP--U.S.A.; European situation. Request that the quotation of the old mans from IN DEFENCE of MARXISM be reread re-Red Army

Report supplemented by report of Italian etc. situation. Organization of 4th International group in Italy. Expect something in Yugoslavia soon. Greece.

Report on the American section. Pardon of 18 refused. Was expected. Heightened our campaign. Phenomenal support obtained over 3 million workers. 300 organizations. We played important role in UAW and fight against no-strike pledge. See reports in Militant of sub work. Also recruiting at never before equalled rate. Composition improved, new elements, raw workers and also negro elements, etc. Have developed a fine new leadership in organization so that we have been able to carry on. Stalinists losing strength, discredited. IN answer to questions-----No apparent split in CP leadership. We have turned our face to fresh elements. We still have plenty of support in Minneapolis under the surface. The first break will see us back in the leadership. 4 comrades of the 18 will be out next month and the others will be out next year. We have circulated tons of literature and the Defence has mass support.

I.S. On the Tasks and Perspectives of the Canadian Section

The I.S. has been studying the Canadian situation for some time past. The great need is for an independent revolutionary party but obviously there are not the forces. Must act now as a league for a party. Must organize as a group with a central apparatus and a paper. Must plan activity and carry it through in a disciplined manner. The French turn was a bold gesture to break away from isolation. But this is not the situation today, there is a live trade union movement and farmer labor party the CCF.

Today we can exist and expand as an independent party with the added aid of a strong

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International organization. Get the workers who are becoming disillusioned with the CCF, recruit them to the organization and put them to work in the Trade Unions and the CCF as members of the revolutionary party. The CCF is a growing ~~political~~ political movement, there will be head on collisions between the rank and file and leadership. Our organization must give leadership and be the polarizing point--must draw them on the revolutionary road. This cannot be done just as a vague left wing faction in the CCF. Just what the developments in the CCF will be is hard to say; perhaps the reformists will throw the radical elements out or vice versa. But we must have a revolutionary party to consolidate these developments. The CCF can serve as a step to the building of the mass revolutionary party.. In the U.S. we would be organizationally separate from the farmer labor party but would give it ~~the~~ critical support; we would work in it and lead it in some cases.

-M Toronto; The situation has become radically different within the last year, we have great cause for optimism. The work of the last year has shown that the workers are coming to us faster than we are going to them

-I.S. The French turn was taken under different circumstances. We were trying to break out of our isolation. The working class was going through crisis; we tried to tie on to the left wing development. This was only a stepping stone. Now we have a 4th International; we must work towards a revolutionary party here. It must be built well but fast. The workers are ready for us; we must go after them. It is necessary to take the practical steps. ~~the workers are ready for us; we must go after them. It is necessary to take the practical steps.~~

Resolution presented by the Toronto comrades and I.S.

M Fitzgerald Toronto elected Chairman

- B Toronto moves that the document on Tasks and Perspectives be accepted by the Conference.
- Resolution is read
- R Toronto points out that the question of French Canada was not dealt with in the document but that a paragraph would be inserted after the problem is discussed.
- M Toronto; This document points out the direction for the organization. To bring it out as an independent party as soon as possible. It does not indicate a time limit but the first steps are indicated. Situation does not permit us to come out at this stage with a paper of our organization as such.
- R Toronto. Nature of paper can be discussed later. Document does not specify that we must form conscious trotskyist groups immediately.
- I.S. Document can be strengthened to make this clear.
- T.Vancouver; I agree with resolution but we must make sure that there is a definite understanding as to immediate tasks so that differences will not develop.

RESOLUTION passed unanimously.

Program of Action; Recruiting Campaign, Organizer, Paper, Finances

- I.S. First requirement is a full time national secretary to keep contact, exchange reports, found basis for an apparatus etc. Have a person available and what about financing him.
- B Toronto. R.Toronto satisfactory but there is the danger of a call-up/
- T Vancouver What about K Ottawa or M Toronto.
- K Ottawa Frozen for duration
- M Toronto Also frozen and the situation in the union very critical. Hope that R can take it but call due any day.
- T Vancouver. What about Frank.
- F Montreal; Favour R Toronto, would only take job as second choice.
- R Toronto; Is there anyone available in Vancouver---None.
- J Montreal. Motion if R Toronto not available that F Montreal take post.
- I.S. Can F.Montreal be spared. He would have to move to Toronto as the apparatus is there. R Toronto would be the ideal choice as he is not tied to any organized work/
- Motion that R Toronto be appointed National secretary. Unanimous.
- T Vancouver; Think all three are equally capable. Do not think That the centre has to be Toronto
- I.S. Discussion shows that selective service is a practical problem. As to the center the largest and best functioning group todate is Toronto.
- T Vancouver; Think that Vancouver has the best functioning group.
- I.S. T Vancouver's report proved this was not the case. According to previous discussion Toronoto proved to be best group. This is of course only a beginning. Question of a centre will come up at National Convention.
- R Toronto. Toronto must be center not only for reasons of quality but also quantity. Can ~~give~~ give not only political leadership but also important technical aid. Can Montreal be stripped of F? Can K Ottawa obtain job in Toronto which would satisfy Selective Service but give time to do the work.
- F Montreal Think it would be mistake for himself to pull out from Montreal and suggest possibility of some Toronto people coming to Montreal to help in work.
- J Montreal ; Would favour F Montreal as second choice only if remained here.
- I.S. Think Torontoe has the available forces for technical work but does not necessary mean that it is to be considered as political centre. National Committee will be set-up from representatives from each group.
- T Vancouver; We are taking steps to set up National leadership. We have to win the working class of all Canada. Should consider Montreal as well as Toronto. J Montreal capable and doing excellent work. Want F Montreal as Secretary(2nd choice) and

- Montreal centre. Better opportunities in Quebec.
- P Montreal; Let us be practical, Montreal cannot be centre for lack of forces. Why not part time secretary in M Toronto
 - B Toronto; Think F Montreal logical man but would have to drop CCF connections and come to Toronto. Closer connections to U.S. in Toronto and have the apparatus. F could come to Toronto.
 - E ~~XXXXXX~~; X Support choice of F Montreal. He understands French Question
 - R Toronto. Centre cannot be based on three persons. F cannot be spared from Montreal yet Toronto only practical centre leaving M Toronto as natural 2nd choice.
 - P Prince Rupert. Think Toronto logical choice for the immediate period ahead.
 - I.S. Move Toronto be national centre until next national convention.
 - J Montreal; Think Toronto should be centre as place where most immediate organizational possibilities.
 - QUESTION called Carried unanimous.
 - I.S. Question of national secretary does not exclude possibility of K Ottawa as part time organizer
 - Motion that M Toronto be 2nd choice national secretary. Full or part time depending on ability to satisfy selective service. Perspective is full time.
 - Question called Carried unanimous
 - I.S. Motion that a national committee of 7 be set up including the national sect.
 - B Toronto. Do not groups elect national committee men?
 - M Toronto. National committee gets authority from this meeting. Ditto B Prince Rupert
 - I.S. This conference gets its authority from the approval of members in each area.
 - T Vancouver; Vancouver elected 3 delegates with full authority. Self MRS and L
 - I.S. Must elect 7 including natl sect. and one alternative to provide for possibility of R going into army.
 - T Vancouver; Move Committee be. R & M Toronto, F & J Montreal, K Ottawa, T Vancouver and P Brince Rupert.
 - Carried unanimously.
 - M Toronto. Move that D Toronto be alternative.
 - Carried unanimously.

FINANCES.

M Toronto. Finances in regard to press and national secretary. Toronto offers a monthly pledge of \$80.00

5 Minute intermission for groups to consult.

	Monthly Sustaining Fund	Press Fund
-B Toronto	80.00	250.00 next month
-P and T West Coast. not discussed	50.00	30.00 now
-K Ottawa	20.00	15.00 now
-F Montreal	20.00	50.00 now
-I.S. This is very good start, I.S. Will be very pleased with report. Confidence that Americans had in Canadian organization justified.		
-P Prince Rupert. Goal of 1000.00 minimum as reserve fund for our work.		
-I.S. Think we should put this on a campaign basis. Time limit for drive and a quota for each group.		
-B Toronto. Time limit of 3 Months		

Motion that details be left for national committee. Passed.
Adjourned 12.20hrs

PAPER

- I.S. Recommendation that we publish a legal paper. The paper will also provide us a test of our organizational legality. The paper will be directed to the leftward developing elements in the CCF and Trade Unions. The editorial staff will be composed of K OTTAWA F MONTREAL and Ntl Sect. whose immediate responsibility it will be. The paper will be a monthly the first issue coming out February 1st 1945. Other aspects such as press run etc referred to National Committee.
- F Montreal; V Quebec is anxious to get out a French paper. Close collaboration is possible. Will investigate.
- Motion for blanket acceptance..passed unan.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSION
CHAINMAN P PRINCE RUPERT.

-Recruiting Campaign.

I.S. All the previous discussions and reports show that the Canadian workers are receptive to revolutionary ideas-our program. The possibilities of immediate growth are tremendous. Our past isolation has developed a tendency to evade the task of recruiting. We must break from this past- we must be bold--we must contact these leftward developing workers and bring them into the organization. We will educate them in the party and in the class struggle. Unfortunately at this period we are unable to use public meetings--we must develop personal contacts in the organizations of the working class, run educationals, invite trustworthy elements to our meetings. CCF and Trade Union activities hold tremendous possibilities. With an attitude of boldness we can really go places. It would be valuable to establish a competitive spirit between the groups. The National Secretary from the various groups how many we can possibly recruit in the immediate future and develop a real campaign.

-E Toronto. In line with the report of the CCL and the task of getting into the basic industries to prepare for the influx when the war machine breaks down--we must immediately begin to concretize our gains from our work in the war industries before they close up.

-L Toronto; The time is short. At the CCL I realized the terrible stranglehold that the Stalinists have on Canadian labor and the seriousness of our task. Nobody can stand aside.

Question of dues system, organizers, local set-up referred to the National Committee

-I.S. The Question of Statutes etc. is a problem for the National Convention, however some preparatory work could be done.

-M Toronto.; It is hard to determine exactly when it will be possible to hold a National Convention. Let us hope that the next one will be the occasion of the founding of the Canadian section of the 4TH INTERNATIONAL. Propose that we hold it next spring. The National Committee should consider the question and prepare for it.

-I.S. I think that 6 months hence is a little too close; at any rate let us not bind ourselves

Motion; That the National Committee call a convention within the period of the next 12 months. That a National Committee Plenum be called if possible within 6 months. Carried unanimously.

The National Committee will instruct the preparation of draft resolutions for the convention--they will be accepted by the national committee for circulation in the pre-convention period

French Canadian Discussion.

Motion that F Montreal present the background of the problem to the conference. Passed

It was proposed that F read a document that he had prepared on the subject but it was pointed out that it was much too long. F developed his speech however using the document as a base, quoting from it Lenin Trotsky etc. Unfortunately most were neither in a position nor had the time to acquaint themselves with it. The preamble to the document is an excellent compilation of facts and figures related to the problem. The conclusions may be crudely summed up as recognizing the French Canadians as a national oppressed minority to whom the Marxist recognition of the right of self determination applies. R Toronto; added further information and attempted to point out that there was no sentiment or at least no organized sentiment for secession and no real demand for the right of self determination and approached the problem by a further development of the transitional

slogans. J Montreal disagreed with some of the statements of R Toronto. F Montreal pointed out that his document did not come out with any practical proposals and had dealt only on the problem of self determination because there had been apparently some disagreement on this point with a former member and he thought that this needed clearing up.. I.S.; There is apparently no definite movement based on separatism but only a vague sentiment. This means that we do not have to raise the question of the right of self determination. We say to the French Canadian worker and farmer that the solution of your problem is tied up with the solution of the problems of the rest of Canada's workers and that the whole question is being used as a diversion. Socialism means centralism but it means democracy also. We pledge ourselves to struggle for the cultural and democratic rights of the French Canadians. We raise these demands in the CCF and the Trade Unions within French and English speaking Canada. We fight against discrimination in all forms.. F Montreal pointed out the strong appeal that ~~the~~ expropriation of the big industries under workers control had with the French workers.

-Motion ; that a statement be drawn up by F&J Montreal on the French Canadian problem in line with the discussion held today. Passed.

Motion ; that revolutionary greetings be sent by this conference to the 18, the SWP in convention next month, the International, Natalia Trotsky and Mrs Jack MacDonald. Passed

Motion that K OTTAWA and R TORONTO be responsible for the minutes. Passed

Motion; That we give thanks to the representative of the International for the invaluable help and cooperation he gave us in our deliberations. Passed unan.

Motion to adjourn. Passed

In attendance: Vancouver, Prince Rupert, 2Montreal, 2Toronto, International

Murray chairman of meeting

Agenda:

Correspondence
Finances
Organizational set-up
Recruiting
Paper
French-Canadian Problem

Correspondence

- Party names are to be sent in as soon as possible. Suggestion that the Given name be retained.
- The national secretary is to be given a safe address immediately.
- Monthly reports are to be sent in to the center. From these reports information will be culled and circulated to the other groups.
- In view of the turn of international events and increasing in the application of the Canada Defense Regulations it is now possible to carry on a more open correspondence. This is vital to the exchange of our ideas, the solution of our problems and the growth of the organization.

Finances

- The salary of the national secretary is to be \$20.00 weekly. This will will be adjusted when it is felt that the organization can pay more.
- Receipts will be given for all funds received and books will be kept.
- The goal for the Press Fund is set at \$750.00. The deadline is 6 months from today--~~XXXXXX~~ April 22 1945.
- Allocation of the press fund drive:

Toronto	\$400
Montreal	\$100
West coast	\$150
Ottawa	\$ 50
- Sustaining Fund

Toronto	\$50
Montreal	\$20
West Coast	\$50
Ottawa	\$20
- Received personal donations to organization:

Ottawa	\$15
Tom	\$10
George	\$20--10 of it in payment of Toronto debt.

Recruiting

- National secretary is instructed to work to the establishment of a branch in Niagara Falls. Comrades on the West coast are instructed to work to the establishment of a branch in Victoria. National secretary will explore possibilities in Wsaston and Windsor.
- All branches will concentrate on recruiting to the organization, reports will be sent in as to progress and a report will be issued monthly on the results of the campaign.

Organizational set-up

- This problem referred to the National Secretary pending receipt of material from U.S.

-Paper

A monthly legal paper will be published, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

The Editorial Committee to be: National Secretary, Alexander, Frank
The first issue will appear on February 1 1945. To be dated Feb 15
The National Committee will receive a report within one month from
the Editorial Committee as to particulars of publication etc.

C.C.F. Convention

-In line with the document Tasks and Perspectives of the Canadian
organization accepted by the conference and the discussion at the
conference; Any delegates that we may have attending the Convention
of the ccf are instructed to concentrate their energies on one or
two major points---Confiscation of all war profits-large scale ind-
ustries banks and insurance companies under trade union control and
workers committees. They are instructed to work out the details of
this policy and to arrange cooperation with any left wing elements.
-Expenses of Frank's attendance will be born by organization if ne-
cessary.

French Canada

-Sub-committee of Frank and Jean struck off to present a document
on the French Canadian question in line with the discussion at the
Conference. This document to be circulated within the next few weeks
if possible.

Trades and Labor Convention.

--Expenses of Berts attendance will be born by organization if it is
possible to obtain credentials.
-Those who attend convention are instructed to work in collaboration
with Toronto group in hammering out program .

Meeting Adjourned

“The Rise and Fall of the Third International” (*un-published?--ed.*)

“By Ross Dowson” (*extensively edited by an unknown person --ed.*)

For the Bolsheviks, November 7, 1917 represented not only the successful seizure of power by the proletariat, supported by the peasantry, in Russia. It was the beginning; it placed at the top of the agenda the world socialist revolution.

No section of the Second International was so imbued with the spirit of internationalism as the Bolsheviks of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. As adherents of Marxism, all of the parties of the Second International were firmly committed to aiding by every possible means the struggles of the workers and peasants of other lands. They viewed the achievement of power in their own countries as reaching fruition only through the world revolution which would establish a socialist commonwealth comprising all the advanced sectors of the globe.

The catechism worked out by the youthful Frederick Engels in his notes for the preliminary draft of the *Communist Manifesto* expressed what was commonly understood about the universal scope of the struggle for socialism. To question 19: “Will it be possible for this revolution to take place in one country alone?” he answered: “No ! By creating the world market, big industry has already brought all the peoples of the earth, and especially the civilized peoples, into such close relation with one another that no one is independent of what happens to the others. Further it has coordinated the social development of the civilized countries to such an extent that in all of them bourgeoisie and proletariat have become the decisive classes and the struggle between them the great struggle of the day. It follows that the communist revolution will not merely be a national phenomenon but must take place simultaneously in all civilized countries, that is to say, at least in England, America, France and Germany.

“It will develop in each of these countries more or less rapidly according as one country or the other has a more developed industry, greater wealth, a more significant mass of productive forces. Hence it will go slowest and will meet most obstacles in Germany; most rapidly and with the fewest difficulties in England. It will have a powerful impact on the other countries of the world and will radically alter the course of development which they have followed up to now, while greatly stepping up its pace. It is a universal revolution and will accordingly have a universal range.”

To this classical Marxist position the Bolsheviks added another concept: the revolution developing in underdeveloped Russia could not overcome with its own resources and within its own boundaries the problems of economic backwardness inherited from Czarism, in particular the agrarian problem.

Thus Lenin wrote in 1905 that the Russian revolutionists, standing on the shoulders of a whole series of revolutionary generations in Europe, have the right to “dream” that they will succeed in “achieving with a completeness never before seen the whole democratic

transformation, of all of our minimum programAnd if that succeeds – then the revolutionary conflagration will set fire to Europe.... The European worker will rise in his turn and show us ‘how it is done;’ then the revolutionary rising of Europe will have a retroactive effect upon Russia and the epoch of several revolutionary years will become an epoch of several revolutionary decades.”

Thanks to recurring and extended periods of exile, no other leadership within the Second International was better acquainted with the problems confronting the international working class movement than the Russians. This was true not only of those with long-standing participation in the Bolshevik faction but those who joined the Bolsheviks during 1917 to form that galaxy of leaders whose names were to become renowned across the globe. With the notable exception of Stalin, they were all conversant with the most complex issues under debate in the international socialist movement. Many participated in the movements of the countries where they were compelled to reside and made important contributions to them, as for example, Trotsky did in the formative stages of the Communist Party of the United States.

The Bolsheviks were both Russian and world revolutionists. For them there was no essential separation between their national revolution and the world revolution; the two were inextricably united.

The Second International, reconstituted under the guidance of Frederick Engels as the continuator of the First International, was part and parcel of their own movement. This is one reason why in August 1914 Lenin could scarcely bring himself to believe that the copy of *Vorwaerts* (a Bolshevik journal --ed.) reporting the vote of the German Social Democratic deputies for the war credits was other than a forgery. The Bolsheviks had known several defeats at the hands of the more powerful class enemy but had never expected such a catastrophic betrayal as that committed by the leading and the largest party of the international.

Lenin and his co-thinkers were not un-acquainted with the weakening of the revolutionary fibre of some of the leading parties of the Second International. As early as 1906 Trotsky observed: “The work of propaganda and organization among the proletariat... has its own intrinsic inertia. The Socialist parties of Europe – in the first place, the most powerful of them, the German Socialist party – have developed a conservatism of their own, which grows in proportion as socialism embraces ever larger masses, and organization and discipline increase. Social Democracy, personifying the political experience of the proletariat, can, therefore, at a certain juncture, become an immediate obstacle in the way of an open proletarian conflict with the bourgeois reaction. In other words, the conservatism of a proletarian party in limiting itself to propaganda, can, at a certain moment, impede the direct struggle of the proletariat for power.”

Despite his temporary disbelief, Lenin’s response was incisive once the news of the German Social Democratic betrayal was confirmed. In the same breath that he stated that “the Second International is dead,” he declared “Long Live the Third International!” Except for a

scattering of individuals, the leaderships of the Social Democratic parties across the world succumbed to the fumes of chauvinism. Lenin and Zinoviev, isolated in a tiny village in Galicia even from their own party, proclaimed the need for the Third International.

The world socialist movement was in shambles as the leaderships of the major parties in the two imperialist camps acted to pit the workers of their respective countries against one another. Only the Bolshevik nucleus stood firm behind the slogan ‘Workers of the World, Unite.’ At that point there seemed no realistic prospect for the revival of the working class movement, not to speak of a successful socialist revolution. It was under these adverse circumstances that the Third International was launched.

The Russian revolutionaries conceived of the international first and foremost as a program. It was the program of class opposition that the Second International had betrayed and trampled in the mud and gore, and that had at all costs to be rescued and upheld so that the necessary forces could once again be won to its side.

The first significant step along that line was taken at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, one year later. Out of this modest gathering of representatives from Germany, Italy, France, Russia and other belligerent and neutral countries came the first international socialist declaration against imperialist war – the celebrated *Zimmerwald Manifesto* written by Trotsky. At that time only the group around Lenin pronounced itself for a Third International. By 1916, at the Kienthal conference, 12 of the 43 delegates formed a new international and another seven were inclined in that direction.

The Bolsheviks were primarily concerned not with counting heads or the total number of co-thinking groups or their respective memberships. To Lenin the collapse of the Second International signified the bankruptcy of opportunism, reformism and petty-bourgeois socialism. The Third International was already a reality which was starting from where the Second left off.

The lessons derived from the Bolshevik experiences of 1903, 1905 and 1917 gave the new international a program and a system of strategical, tactical and organizational methods. While the first congress of the Third International was not to take place until two years afterwards, the conquest of power in October 1917 was already their first and most fundamental victory of the new international.

The October Revolution affirmed in the most profound and dramatic way the program of socialist revolution as interpreted and applied by the Russian followers of Marx and Lenin, and not least their teachings on the vanguard character of the party necessary to win the power through class struggle, the necessity for a proletarian dictatorship, etc.

The working masses of the world over were inspired by the heroic example of the Russian people under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. Immense waves of solidarity swept across war-exhausted Europe which restricted and then frustrated the imperialist efforts to

strangle the new workers' republic at birth. The masses of Europe were driven to shake off the stupor that their capitalist rulers with the aid of the social democratic betrayers had imposed upon them, and they engaged in one attempt after another to settle accounts with their own rulers.

The revolutionary fervor and ferment in Europe spread across Atlantic as far as Seattle in the United States and the prairie provinces of Canada. The Western Labour Conference held in Calgary in the spring of 1919, composed of 239 delegates representing 41,150 western Canadian trade unionists (including 8 central labor bodies) sent greetings to the new workers' state – and to the revolutionary forces struggling for power in Germany under the banner of the Spartacusbund of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. They demanded that Canadian interventionist troops be withdrawn from Russian soil. They passed resolutions expressing support to the idea of soviet power and acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Within months they provided the main forces for the general strike that put the city of Winnipeg under control of an enlarged labour council for a period of 41 days.

The army of the world socialist revolution was gathering. The Bolsheviks were calling it into action – Lenin from the platform of the Petrograd Soviet on the night of November 7, Trotsky from Brest-Litovsk (*as he led negotiations for a peace treaty with Nazi Germany at Russia's border --ed.*). Major European detachments were already locked in combat. What was lacking was a general staff to head up a world party of the socialist revolution – to work out the strategy and give leadership – that necessitated the actual formation of the Third International.

The first congress of the Communist International was held in Moscow on March 2-6, 1919. It was attended by representatives of Communist contingents from 19 different countries. The Russian party, harassed by the problems of their own revolution, allocated considerable resources and their top leaders to the work of the Comintern. Leading spokesmen and representatives of the Communist parties that were forming in numerous lands, composed of the best elements which had broken from the parties of the Second International and the new forces being shaped by the developing revolutionary upsurge, overcame great obstacles to participate in its founding deliberations and decisions. They debated as equals with the Russian leaders whose brand of internationalism recognized that the interests of the world movement took precedence over the movement in any one country, including their own. They discussed the specific problems confronting the forces of socialist revolution in the various countries and worked out major position papers on parliamentary action, on the united front, on the national question, on the state and the proletarian dictatorship. The programmatic documents adopted by the first four congresses of the Third International remain to this day among the most precious acquisitions of the revolutionary socialist movement.

The supreme task of building a general staff of the world socialist revolution proved far more difficult than even the coolest heads could then conceive. The new communist parties were only beginning to take shape when the postwar mass revolutionary ferment began to ebb. An

integral part of this process was the increasing exhaustion of the Russian masses, which facilitated the descent of the Russian Revolution and the gradual consolidation of a conservative bureaucratic stratum which took over the Soviet state and then control of the Comintern.

The immature forces of German Communism, under a false policy of “offensive” inspired by Zinoviev and Bukharin, suffered a grave defeat in March 1920. When the struggle for power was resumed, the German Communist leadership on the pusillanimous advice of Zinoviev and then Stalin committed a series of tactical errors and through a combination of adventurist and temporizing actions went down to defeat. The failure of the German movement further strengthened the growing forces of bureaucracy in the USSR (*Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, revolutionary Russia*) and their increasing influence in the CPSU (*Communist Party of the Soviet Union*). The political backsliding was expedited by the withdrawal of Lenin from political activity due to a mortal illness.

The developing Soviet bureaucracy gave theoretical expression to its own caste interests in the newly minted theory of socialism in one country, which was the complete negation of the internationalist essence of Bolshevism. Trotsky, whose aid the dying Lenin had sought in the struggle against the encroaching bureaucracy, headed up the resistance of the Left Opposition to this theory and its implications which was the cornerstone of the draft program presented to the Comintern by Stalin and Bukharin for adoption by the sixth congress.

The fifth congress, in 1924, signaled the bureaucracy’s seizure of control over the Comintern. The sixth congress signified the settlement of accounts with the Left Opposition led by Trotsky, already expelled from the CPSU, and the forces that came to identify with him. In some parties, such as the Greek, these encompassed almost the entire founding leadership. Trotsky’s criticism of the draft program submitted to the sixth congress never came before the delegates. But a copy accidentally fell into the hands of Maurice Spector and James P. Cannon, delegates from the Canadian and U.S. Communist Parties, who brought it out (*from Moscow*) and made it public to inform the world socialist movement on the true nature of the Stalin-Trotsky dispute.

In this polemic which called upon the Comintern to return to the path of Marx and Lenin, Trotsky prophetically warned: “The new doctrine proclaims that socialism can be built on the basis of a national state – **if only there is no intervention**. From this there can and must follow (notwithstanding all pompous declarations in the draft program) a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention, as this will guarantee the construction of socialism, that is to say, will solve the main historical question. The task of the parties in the Comintern assumes, therefore an auxiliary character; their mission is to protect the USSR from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power. It is, of course not a question of subjective intentions but of the objective logic of political thought.”

With equal insight and foresight he commented: ‘If our internal difficulties, obstacles and contradictions which are fundamentally a reflection of world contradictions can be settled merely by the ‘inner forces of our revolution’ without entering the arena of the world-wide proletarian revolution, then the International is partly subsidiary and partly a decorative institution, the Congress of which can be convoked once every four years, once every ten years, or perhaps not at all.’

The first four congresses were held over 1919-1922. The next was held in 1924, the sixth in 1928 – and the seventh was not convened until 1935. The Stalinist bureaucracy had less and less respect for this relic of the revolutionary past. From 1923 to 1933 every new revolutionary opportunity in Europe and Asia continued to hold open the possibility of a regeneration of Lenin’s International. But, as the Stalinist bureaucracy increased its hold and expelled or silenced all opponents and critics, one opportunity after another was lost.

The development of the British Communist Party, following the upsurge which led to the General Strike of 1926, was gravely compromised by Stalin’s attempt to preserve at all costs the Anglo-Russian Committee – an alliance between the British reformist trade union bureaucracy and the Russian trade unions. When the British trade union leadership sold out the struggle, Stalin covered up its betrayal and gagged the British communists in order to hold the committee together. The union brass itself withdrew as soon as circumstances were most advantageous to them.

Even more catastrophic was the debacle of Stalin’s policies in China from 1925 to 1927 where he urged the Chinese CP to submerge itself into the Kuomintang, the party of the national bourgeoisie. This resulted in the destruction of the Shanghai insurrection of 1927 at the hands of the bloody executioners in the service of Stalin’s ally, Chiang Kai-Shek. The great Chinese revolution was set back for two decades.

This devastating defeat in China flowed from Stalin’s reversion to his pro-Menshevik position in the Russian struggle prior to Lenin’s arrival in April 1917 in which the democratic revolution was conceived as a distinct and separate stage of struggle in alliance with the progressive bourgeoisie. This opportunist course from 1924 to 1928 was succeeded from 1929 to 1933 by its exact opposite. This ‘Third Period’ saw the Comintern swing into a wildly ultra-left policy. Social Democracy was (then) characterized as ‘the main danger’ and designated ‘social-fascist.’ This line barred the Communist parties from seeking to form a united front with those working class forces still tied to the parties of the Second International, in the face of the rising fascist danger. This led to utter disaster in Germany. The German Communist Party, with its 600,000 members and a voting support of 6 million, collapsed before Hitler without a fight.

The destruction of the largest Communist party in the world, and the failure of the Comintern and its constituent parties to make any serious evaluation of the causes of this tragedy, spelled the end of the Comintern as an instrument for socialist revolution. If the Second

International had come to an end through base treachery, the Third International ended in utter political bankruptcy.

The Comintern still had a decade to drag into a lingering death agony which was marked by a series of disastrous defeats aided by its opportunist policies. The seventh congress of the CI which met shortly after Stalin's pact with the French government of Laval, marked the open conversion of the Comintern into chauvinistic support of any capitalist government that might at any juncture be allied with the Kremlin.

(Note by RD: "Insert Spain here") (The debacle of Stalinism in the Spanish Civil War --ed.)

After destroying the Comintern as an instrument for the world socialist revolution, Stalin physically destroyed the entire Leninist general staff of the Russian Revolution, many of whom had played prominent roles at various stages in the history of the Communist International. All the members of Lenin's Political Committee except Stalin were framed up in a series of trials, some as agents of British imperialism, others as agents of Hitler, with Leon Trotsky portrayed as the master-mind of their conspiracy. In 1940 Stalin through a GPU agent murdered Trotsky who together with Lenin had taken the lead in founding the Third International.

All that remained was to proclaim the Third International dead and bury it. The final act came with the formal dissolution of the Comintern in the summer of 1943. Its dissolution by Stalin on the eve of the outburst of a new great wave of revolutions following the Second imperialist World War was his assurance to the imperialists that they could have a free hand in crushing it.

The death of the Third International signified the bankruptcy of the Soviet bureaucracy, and the bankruptcy of *(it's ideology of)* "socialism in one country," of "collective security" and "peaceful co-existence." But the international cannot be dissolved by the fiat of any head of state. It is an imperishable idea flowing from the irrepressible need for world unity of the oppressed in the struggle for socialism which can only be accomplished through the proletarian world revolution.

February 26 1946

Dear Reg;

Just dropping you a line in this impressive looking envelope so you can do us a favour. We have been informed that Harry Archibald is now in Vancouver and will be leaving from there for Ottawa. You in all probability would know where he would hang out when in Vancouver so I am enclosing a letter that I would like you to give him. I am not sure when the House goes in to session or when he would leave for the East but we would appreciate it if you would give him the letter as soon as possible

We recieved the minutes of the P.C. and the enclosed document on CCF perspectives. The P.C. discussed them both and will be circulating the document along with one adopted by the P.C. in the next week or so. It looks like we are going to enter a very fruitful period of discussion and education for our movement. It will be necessary to hold joint meetings of all the groups in order to get the best out of it.

I have glanced over your letter of the 20th and think your suggestion of writing G.V. a letter is a good one so will include that also.

Warmest Regards

(R.D.'s salutation)
-ed



C O M E

to
a



M E E T I N G

on

Sun. Mar. 10 at 2.00 p.m.
in the

FLACK BLOCK

ROOM 30 (2nd floor)

(opposite the Vancouver Daily Province Bldg.)

H E A R

MALCOM BRUCE

TOM BRADLEY

and

others

sponsored by

THE GREATER VANCOUVER UNEMPLOYMENT ORGANIZATION.

April 1 1946

Dear Paddy;

We received your rapid response to the emergency call with a great feeling of satisfaction. If we get the same reaction from other comrades why we will be able as far as funds are concerned to publish a daily. I hope that the P.R. branch will be able to keep up with you. So far, we have yet to hear from Vancouver. They are holding a city-wide meeting on the 31st and we will get a good reply I am sure. Toronto has more than absorbed her quota and promises to get much more from pledges obtained from friends and sympathizers.

We are in entire agreement with your suggested treat for the Alexander case. However we have yet to see the carry out our last prescription. We received a letter from signifying his concurrence with the N.C. recommendation... have heard no more. While we have raised the question of coming to the centre for sometime now he has always stalled off with the job question. To live as a proletarian would certainly come as a shock to him but if he weathered the storm it would no doubt straighten him up.

I have just written to Angus again about coming East. We agree with you that Angus is a very capable comrade and will be a great asset for the party in the days to come. This is what motivates our ~~all~~ desire to get him to come to the centre. I am sure he could do good work in Coast unions and even better work in the Vancouver group which needs some bolstering up but we are faced with a serious problem of building up a functioning centre in the East where the great masses of the Canadian workers reside. George will be leaving us shortly and without some aid from the outside points ~~wherever~~ we have comrades who are already well developed we are going to be in difficulties. The Toronto group is growing but the type of recruits are not the old ones who had experience as a revolutionary C.P. but youth who are coming to the party from school and factories. We require a comrade who can do party work. Since Angus had suggested the possibility of his coming East and being impressed with his ability we naturally asked him to try to come. In his recent reply he too raised the question of the great field for work in the West but this is aside from the point. We have to build the party. We have to develop a leadership that can inspire the confidence of the membership. We have to build a leadership that has self confidence and mutual confidence. A year's stay in Toronto would be a great experience for Angus and would be a great step in the building of our movement. The question of finance and family agreement is of course a serious one but I think we can help solve it. Anything you can do to aid Angus come to a correct decision will be appreciated.

What about you coming East, Paddy? The same reasons hold true in your case as in Angus'. Knowing how you like the West ~~East~~ and are more familiar with the Vancouver comrades we considered that perhaps you would best use your talents on the Vancouver comrades. However when we come out in the open as an independent party we will be faced with the pressing need of some public figures of your ability. We have none as yet. You could play a big role in building our movement nationally from the centre and also giving your organizational experience to the Toronto and Montreal groups who face great prospects of growth. We are now working on Jean to see if he could get someone on the payroll so that we can take advantage of his position and recent developments. This would be a top rate spot for you. What do you think? The Montreal group is in no position to help Jean and take advantage of the great opportunities that are there. While the group ~~XXXX~~ loyally supports the movement financially it is basically petty-bourgeois and isolated from the working class, not only French but even English. The support that we can give Jean is only of a temporary character as we cannot possibly spare any of our forces. We would like you to seriously consider coming East for a period regardless of what happens with the attempts to get someone on the Montreal payroll.

I would like to hear your opinion of the first bulletin. I am enclosing for your information a letter from some of the Vancouver comrades to the N.O. and a reply. It appears that Bradley is getting the situation pretty well lined up. The opposition seems to be grouped ~~XXXX~~ around G. Van and gives us the impression of smallness but vociferousness. We are anxiously awaiting the report on the meeting held on the 31st where there was discussion on the bulletin. Van ~~ix~~ favours total entry and rejects the need of a revolutionary party. The next bulletin where we publish his document and also a blast against him will be out within a week so I won't say any more on the question.

Have you any contributions to the discussion?

I have drawn N.Y.'s attention to the fact that you are not receiving your sub. I have their receipt at hand and expect ~~EX~~ that you will be fixed up O.K.

Comradely yours

R. S.

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(MAY 11/46)

Extract from a Report by the Canadian Comrades

The Canadian section is at present just raising its head after a long period of decline and stagnation. Early in 1937 the Canadian section, then known as the Workers Party, entered the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (a petty-bourgeois Social Democratic party with some trade union support but deriving its main strength from the agrarian regions and from middle class elements in urban centers). The entry was carried out after a long and sharp internal conflict over the correctness of the application of this tactic at that time. The decision carried only by a small majority. The entry was carried out when the organization was weak and isolated and defeatism was growing in its ranks. The entire top leadership who had proposed the entry dropped out of the movement and the entry was conducted by less experienced comrades. The CCF was already in the grips of a strong and unopposed bureaucracy and our comrades were compelled to operate on a completely illegal basis. A section of the opponents of the tactic failed to cooperate in the entry and it was not until 1938 with the aid of the International that the groups were reconciled.

Upon the advice of the International, preparations were made to wage a principled fight against the CCF leadership and gather together our forces for the reorganization of an independent Canadian section. Early in 1939, after the expulsion of the remaining comrades from the CCF, the Canadian section was reconstituted as the Socialist Workers League. Up until the outbreak of the war, which Canada entered in September 1939, we published a monthly organ called *Socialist Action*. Before we were able to gather together the scattered threads of an organization which had only a few branches scattered across this vast country, the war broke out.

The bourgeoisie immediately enforced repressive anti-labor legislation called "Defense of Canada Regulations" (these laws are now inoperative). One of our comrades was the first to be imprisoned under these laws for his principled opposition to the war. The Stalinist movement was declared illegal and its leadership interned. No printer would handle our publications. The war hysteria had serious repercussions on our movement. The entire leadership, which was politically immature, evaporated before the storm. During the war a handful of comrades managed to maintain connections and published 3 or 4 issues of a mimeographed paper. An organizational trip was made across Canada and connections were renewed with a few scattered contacts and the old centers of Montreal and Vancouver. Due to our weakness of forces and our illegality we turned once more toward the CCF which provided a shelter from political repressions and limited contact with leftward moving workers.

In November 1944 a National Conference was held in Montreal with representatives from all the old major political centers of the movement. There it was unanimously decided to prepare immediately for the organization of an independent Canadian Section of the Fourth International. A National Committee was set up and funds raised for the publication of a monthly paper. This paper, *Labor Chal-*

lenge, was first published in June 1945 as a monthly; it is now published as a twice-monthly. *Labor Challenge* appears as a Trotskyist paper but *does not openly represent* a formally constituted Trotskyist organization. In Eastern Canada where opportunities for effective work in the CCF are extremely limited we have erected a front organization called "Friends of *Labor Challenge*" which has no ostensible membership but permits us to carry on open activities such as meetings, forums, socials, etc.

In the West, where limited opportunities still appear to exist for work in the CCF, the group functions entirely as a fraction in the CCF. At present a discussion is taking place throughout the organization on the basis of a Political Committee document which calls for the immediate creation of an independent section of the Fourth International. Although no formal vote has yet been taken, the overwhelming majority of the movement has indicated its acceptance of this perspective. The only factor restraining us from immediately forming the open section of the Fourth International is the situation in British Columbia where the entire group is involved in the CCF and is now waging a sharp fight with the CCF leadership. The group here too, after a lengthy discussion, is now united behind the PC perspective. The next report to the IS will no doubt herald the formation of the Canadian Section of the Fourth International.

Our numerical strength at present stands approximately at . . . and is concentrated in 4 cities. The overwhelming majority of the membership are proletarians. More than 50 per cent have been recruited to the movement since the outbreak of the war. In the past five months approximately 25 persons have been recruited, mostly workers with a number of student and professional elements. The entry into the CCF and the war took a great toll on the organization and accounts for the defection of the great majority of the pre-war membership.

Our press is a twice-monthly with approximately 1000 paid subscribers and a press run of 3,500. Last fall \$1,000 was raised to put the twice-monthly on its feet. In the mid-April 1945 issue we have announced a campaign for 1,000 new subscribers and everything indicates a complete success.

The character of the membership is quite diversified. On the West Coast, which accounts for almost half the membership, we have a good foothold in the trade unions and have developed some able and responsible trade union leaders. About half of the Toronto membership are factory workers and trade unionists, but unfortunately they are scattered in many different unions and our work in this field is as yet comparatively ineffective. The other main group in Montreal with only one or two exceptions is composed of technicians. We have carried on some outstanding work in the rapidly expanding Quebec labor movement, but due to the lack of French-speaking workers we have been unable as yet to take full advantage of the excellent opportunities afforded us in this area. We hope to be able to overcome these difficulties in the next period.

We are at present conducting a period of discussion on organizational perspectives referred to above. The only

opposition to the Political Committee document comes from a small but vocal centrist opposition which has been hopelessly discredited and wields almost no influence in the organization. The European Secretariat's "The New Imperialist 'Peace' and the Building of the Parties of the Fourth International" was unanimously adopted by the National Committee.

The 1944 Montreal Conference set up no dues structure but financed the press and the organization by a system of

branch pledges. Money thus accumulated enabled us to publish the monthly and the \$1000 raised later on permitted us to publish the twice-monthly. A recent appeal for funds coupled with certain economy measures enables us to operate now at a reasonably small monthly deficit. One group has imposed dues on its own members but this question will be dealt with at a national convention which we hope to be able to hold some time this coming summer or fall. . . .

May 11, 1946.

July 22 1946

(Stanton)

Dear Comrade Stanton

We were quite pleased to receive your interesting letter the other day and have just shipped your book order to your address COD Express.

Wherever possible we have sent you paper covered copies. In the case of The First Five Years of the Communist International this is no longer possible as all paper copies have been reserved for European shipments. This book was originally published in Russian and in two volumes. The first volume only has been published in English so far. We expect the 2nd volume however to come out shortly.

The C.O.D. amounts to 15.70 plus whatever charges there will be for the handling of the order by the express company. This amount includes the cost of subscription for the Militant and the Fourth International..our American comrades publications. We will send in your subs with our next letter to the States.

We are extremely pleased to be able to answer your enquiries about any Trotskyists in Vancouver. I am not aware of whom you refer to as "supposedly Trotskyists". We are in contact with a sizeable group of comrades in Vancouver who are doing effective work towards the building of a Canadian section of the Fourth International. I am forwarding to them your ~~correspondence~~. Very shortly they will be in touch with you. We are confident that your relationships with these comrades will be exceedingly fruitful and that together we will translate the great message of the books that you have received into reality.....a powerful revolutionary party in Canada which will lead the workers in the socialist revolution.

Do not hesitate to address us with any further enquiries you may have

Comradely yours

Ross Dowson

(July 22)

Found in
July 1946

order from

LABOR CHALLENGE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

87 King St. W. Room 5

Toronto 1, Ont.

Leon Trotsky			
+ Stalinism and Bolshevism		.15	
+ In Defence of the Soviet Union		.15	
+ Fascism--what it is and how to fight it		.20	
+ Leon Sedoff		.15	
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	cloth	2.75	
The Revolution Betrayed			
paper		1.25	
cloth		2.25	
The Third International after Lenin			
cloth		3.75	out of print
+ In Defence of Marxism	cloth	2.50	Paper 1.75
+ Whither France	cloth	1.25	
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-To the Workers and Peasants of India		.10	
-On the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution		.10	
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In Defence of Socialism--Albert Goldman		.25	
Trade Union Problems --- Farrell Dobbs		.15	
Maritime	F.J. Lang	1.25	
+ Fascism and Big Business--D. Guerin	paper	1.00	
+ Behind the Moscow Trials--M. Shachtman	paper	.85	.10
+ From Lenin to Stalin	V. Serge	.60	
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL an American Marxian Monthly			
1 year subscription		2.00	
THE MILITANT --- an American Revolutionary weekly			
1 year subscription		1.00	
-Combination 1 year Militant and F.I. subscription		2.50	

Stan Stanton
1718 Haro St
Vanc

Sent July 22 --- 15.70 (OD)

August 10 1946

Dear Comrade Lamont;

We have just received your payment for Labor Challenge nos. 10, 11, and 12. We have also received your book order and have shipped it off in today's mail but with a minor adjustment which we hope will meet with your satisfaction.

We have replaced your order for a paper bound copy of Trotsky's First Five Years of the Communist International with a cloth bound copy. We have been out of stock of the paper issue for some time now and have been informed by Pioneer Publishers that all paper bound copies are now being reserved for European shipments which in the past few years have become quite extensive.

Otherwise your shipment has been filled as ordered. The subscription for the Fourth International will be forwarded to New York in our next correspondence with them.

The cloth bound copy makes a slight difference in price. The cloth edition is \$2.75 whereas the paper edition was listed \$1.75. This small difference can be adjusted at your convenience.

In the next week or so we expect to run off an up to date listing of all the publications that we have on hand. It will contain many new and interesting items. I will forward a few copies as soon as they are available.

Fraternally yours

ROSS DOWSON

A G E N D A

1. International Report
2. Organizational Report
3. Tasks & perspectives
4. Constitution
5. Election of National Committee

Comrade Stanton elected Chairman.

M/S/C Agenda be adopted as read.

Short report given by the Secretary on greetings and expressions of solidarity sent to our National Convention from:-

R.W. Bullock, Vancouver.
 Jas. Seward, Wiseton, Sask.
 B. Johnston, Milnes Landing, B.C.
 Burke, Moon Lake.
 H. Noakes, Magna Bay.
 G. Clarke, New York.

M/S/C That the various greetings received be answered and filed.

Comrade Stanton ^{made} gave a few remarks ^{then introduced} introducing the representative from New York, Comrade F. editor of the, who was then called upon to deliver the International Report.

Comrade Frank (Not complete verbatim report)

We are now one year since the end of the war, and we all have today at our disposal a good knowledge of what the international movement of the 4th international amounts to. It is well in beginning a convention of the party to cast our eye briefly over the whole international picture and the movement that we all belong to internationally, as it gives us thereby a better working knowledge and a better perspective of what our own possibilities are in any given country and how to line up and tackle the tasks which confront us in order to build the revolutionary party in Canada. The war swept over the movement of the 4th International on an international scale. The parties of the 4th Int. were not mass parties when the war arrived - they could not stop the war by making revolution. Almost exclusively they were either propaganda groups or small parties fighting for influence amongst the working class.

Went on to deal with the differences that ^{arose in SWP which culminated in split} exist between the WP - SWP.

"In 1943 a gigantic event occurred - revolutionary uprising in Italy. We saw in this great event a revindication of the theoretical program and the whole basis of our movement. After 20 years of darkness and unabashed reaction, the power was still there. We learned of the survival of the 4th International in every important country in Europe. We learned that the 4th International had acquitted itself in a heroic manner throughout the war years. Had fought in the movement against Nazi reaction, had fought in the armed bands which raised up in Europe during the war years, had published illegal papers under difficult conditions, had organized cells in the German armies, had preserved the party in country after country, and had conducted themselves in every country as bolsheviks. In France they had suffered over 100 victims shot by the Nazis or murdered by torture and hunger and cruel conditions in the Nazi concentration camps. In Greece, they had suffered over 150 (over one half

the membership of the party) victims murdered by the Nazis, and murdered by the Stalinist GPU gangs that had roamed throughout Greece. New comrades are coming in and taking over the task. Some of the Greek comrades were heroes of the first order. Every party had played its role. All these parties survived and grew during the war years.

In 1944 in the early part of the year, they organized the secret conference attended by 4 or 5 of the European parties, where they established the European committee to co-ordinate the work of the European parties - organized an illegal bulletin and laid plans to rebuild and strengthen the movement of the 4th International in all of its countries.

.....
In 1944 Europe was the scene of a great revolutionary upsurge. The working class in all the European countries gave their backing and support to the Communist and Socialist parties. The workers in seeking a change in the regime and the economy and the life of the country, threw their weight and backing behind the parties which in their mind stood for Communism and Socialism. These parties took this mass movement into a perfidious Peoples Front. Instead of taking power, they joined with the bourgeoisie and for a few paltry concessions, joined with the capitalists of France and Belgium and eastern Europe in rescuscitating and giving new breath to the capitalist regime. The first revolutionary wave has been thrust back - Europe today is in a period of interim - the capitalists have achieved a temporary equilibrium - a breathing spell, and that is the condition which exists in the European countries.

(The parties of the 4th International were minority parties - in France the Stalinists have a million members - they were mass parties.)

.....
The conditions are extremely favorable if the parties are firm and stay true to their program and have the patience and the tenacity to battle the way for that influence.....

Just as the 3rd International faced the problem of keeping itself theoretically correct and keeping its bolshevik strength and purity, that will also be part of the experience and the necessity of the 4th International if it is going to see its way through the period ahead and remain as the party that knows how to take advantage of the given situation and acts on the basis of reality but never gives up its principles or waters down its revolutionary program - that is possible by remaining true and faithful to the revolutionary path.

Dealt with the American party and how it affects the picture of our international organization....."In the spring of 1944 we went through a considerable test - we had most of the older leaders of the party amongst the 18 that were sent to jail as an outcome of the Minneapolis trial...Our party was not a mass party with mass influence - it was still a small revolutionary party. We went into the period of 1944 - we played a very cagey and cautiously in our tactical operation in the unions and throughout the mass movement, as we knew that the relationship of forces was very much in our disfavor due to the war and its repercussions in the working class movement. In 1944 we carried through two great campaigns - one was the campaign around the imprisonment of the 18 leaders of the SWP and the Teamsters Union...Got backing from unions totalling 1 1/2 million members for that case. We made that a great propaganda medium and to show ourselves as the great fighter and force against the war...The second campaign was to begin a subscription drive for the MILITANT, to break out of the comparative isolation our paper was in and try to take a plunge to make it a mass paper. We set ourselves the goal of 3000 subscriptions for the 1st subscription campaign. This campaign went on for three months - results were approximately 7600 subs when the campaign ended. This was the beginning of a series of subscription campaigns we went through which revolutionized the paper

completely and got a great circle of readers -(from 6 to 8 pages.) Got more subscriptions in 8 months than in the previous 10-15 years. Had to start talking the peoples' language more, to simplify our propaganda. The transformation has been enormous in the character and life of the party. One third to one half of our new recruits come in from having been subscribers and learned of the party through the MILITANT...

.....
Through our careful work in the unions, which for many years was undramatic, we were able to play a considerable role in certain localities. In Detroit, in Buffalo, in Los Angeles, and during the steel strike in Youngston and in Chicago - during other strikes, we participated in the struggles. We have built fractions in Auto, in Steel, in Maritime, in the Rubber Unions, in Packinghouse and in the Railroad industry. That is why we today ~~are~~ approaching our coming convention in the middle of November with supreme confidence that we are going to build the party of mass influence in the coming few years in the United States, and that we are now on the road (on the first part of the road) toward that achievement, because we are recruiting workers steadily, and a live party and a healthy party has constantly got to recruit workers - a healthy party is a growing party. Not only are we recruiting workers, but we are able to keep them once we recruit them....

.....
Our big goal now is to build in every respect around the party - not a party that does trade union work, not a party that concentrates on subscription campaigns for the paper, but an organization that has a good headquarters - a party that participates in the election campaigns as a political organization, a party that is active in the trade union campaigns, because trade union work remains, and will always remain, one of the most important fields in the revolutionary work. A party that is active in pushing its press as the press of the working class, and through this rounded work, a party that not only agitates the workers, but a party that leads actions itself. We are trying to revolutionize our organization into such a party.....

.....
Today the danger of war looms over the horizon. We must begin a great anti-war campaign from every conceivable angle.....The Canadian movement has problems of a similar scope to the American party....As we become stronger in the U.S., and we are going to become stronger, this will be of aid to the Canadian movement....

Summed his report up in the following way:-

The 4th International has survived the war - that is a big achievement by itself.

Secondly, it has grown, although they do not have mass parties in Europe as yet. Every important country in Europe has groups of the 4th International.

In Asia we have parties functioning.

In India a new party was formed in 1942.

Group functioning in Shanghai. No knowledge of what is going on in Japan.

We have connections in Indonesia.

In the Canadian scene, there has been a great politicization in the last few years as the outcome of the war...The building of a revolutionary party is not the same as it was 25 years ago.

.....
The fundamental basis is there for a more or less rapid growth. This is not an automatic process - the revolutionary party has to grow like a well tended garden which is weeded and constantly cared for.....

If you begin with a body of men who have some connection with the labor movement and who understand the working class and its problems, who hold true to a revolutionary program, and move in with vigor and with real bolshevik sacrifice and with decision, there is every opportunity in the next period to form an effective, and a powerful party of Trotskyism in the western hemisphere, and

I think as the reports will show, Canada has an excellent start. I want to bring you the greetings of revolutionary solidarity from the sister party across the border - the SWP. You can say that your first convention laid the groundwork for a national organization after the misfortunes and setbacks of the past, and brought the thing up on a new and healthier foundation. This convention ought to lay the basis for the establishment of a significant and influential and of a respected movement of Trotskyism on Canadian soil. In that spirit I hope the convention will carry through its deliberations and thus lay the second foundation stone on the road which will surely end with the revolution on the American continent.

M/S/C That we adopt the International report.

Discussion on the International report participated in by Comrades ^{MD} Murray, RD Ross, ^{TB} Tom.

RD Ross: Gave an outline of the situation in the Canadian party in the period prior to the setting up of the party. Dealt with the convention two years ago where the organization was set up. "We achieved all of the objectives we set ourselves two years ago. Today we have the clarification of the political program - our relationship with the other competitor groups is clear. The whole political scene remains clear for the development of our party - our program was correct. We maintained our base. Our party is based upon a correct program, it is based upon individuals who in the past year have shown their capacity and will to sacrifice and struggle. With this achievement in the past year, and also because we have a correct program, we foresee great developments in the immediate future....."

^{TB} Tom: Dealt with the difficulties that confronted the comrades in the building of the party in the past period....."Today we are in a position where we are able to make this break. We are able to get forces to build our revolutionary party. We still have a hard task before us due to the background and tradition of the Stalinist party. We will continue the theories of Lenin and Trotsky in the building of our party."

^{FR} Frank: At this point Comrade Frank at the request of Comrade RD Ross outlined in brief the factional differences between the minority and majority groups.

M/S/C That we adjourn for lunch (12:15) and reconvene at 1:30 p.m. to deal with the Organizational report.

..... ^{SS}
Meeting reconvened at 1:30 p.m. with Comrade Stanton in the chair.

ORGANIZATIONAL REPORT

RD Ross: "Today's convention is the second national convention of the Canadian Party. September 1944 we took the opportunity of calling the first convention. This convention marked a high point in the history of our movement. We set up a functioning national leadership, we set up an organizational structure, and set ourselves the task of building in Canada the Canadian Section of the 4th International. We have achieved all of our objectives. In the process of our work we developed new perspectives and new tasks, and came through them all."

Dealt with the strength of the organization at that time in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Etc. Also the difficulties confronting us....."We had no press - no expression of our ideas. We were meeting under semi-illegal conditions. Working under a semi-illegal status in relation to the CCF."

Dealt with the objectives we had set ourselves in 1944. (i) The building of a party as soon as possible. (ii) The setting up of an organizational framework to achieve this. (iii) Setting up of a National Committee. (iv) Setting ourselves the objective of publishing a paper.

.....
We were limited in our numerical strength. In Toronto we had withdrawn from the CCF as we had little opportunity for ^{serious work} operation. In Prince Rupert we were fortunate in having two comrades. In Montreal and Ottawa we just had a few comrades. In Vancouver we had a few comrades who knew where they were going.

.....
Re the Paper: The building of a paper has been the time proven builder of the party. The press becomes the tribunal of the party. Around the press we clarify our program..... We set ourselves the objective of raising \$750 towards a paper. Time limit of 6 months to raise this amount. At the end of 6 months we had only raised \$500 with which to start the paper. First issue appeared in June 1945. The publication of this paper marks a great achievement for our movement....

.....
The question of where the National Office should be was a question for debate at the first convention. It was agreed that the National Office should be in the same city as the paper was to be printed in..... Our paper is recognized as being of a very high calibre... Our comrades in Prince Rupert and Vancouver immediately took the paper to the workers thus providing us with a base.... We correctly analyzed the possibilities confronting us and the paper was correctly directed to these possibilities. In Dawson City, Estevan, etc. etc. the paper received a very warm reception. After publication of 5 or 6 issues we had over 800 subscribers. Our press run provided us with great opportunities for factory and political meeting distributions.

.....
In October 1945, after ^{having published L.C.} functioning as a monthly, the PC brought forward the idea of publishing LABOR CHALLENGE as a twice monthly paper. We set ourselves the objective of raising \$1000 to make the paper a twice monthly. The idea of a twice monthly was picked up by the ^{entire} rest of the organization. The first campaign in our organization was very well organized. It was a new experience for our movement. The size of the objective was quite large and the size and influence of our movement was quite restricted. The comrades accepted the quota and accepted the idea and need for making LABOR CHALLENGE a twice monthly. Not only did we achieve our objective, but we over subscribed. We raised over \$1000 and at the beginning of this year were able to commence the twice monthly. The task now ^{is} to utilize the paper. We set ourselves the task of broadening the circulation of our press - to give LABOR CHALLENGE 1000 new subscribers. This campaign showed the great capacity of our comrades. While we did not reach our complete objective, we came very close to it. We put LABOR CHALLENGE in totally new areas - in Ontario we branched out into Hamilton, Windsor, Cornwall. We popularized our program to our readers through our press. Our paper has been taken into political meetings and into the factories and has caused quite a considerable bit of worry to our opposition.

Press run today 3500-4500.

1200 - 1300 paid subscribers.

Factory distribution and bundle orders 1 and 2 thousand an issue. (Check.)

.....
Some of the personnel of our movement at the date of the last convention failed to measure up to the tasks that confronted us. Some of the leaders of our organization at that time ^{have since} left our movement. It is necessary for us to deal with this - we have no desire to slur over it, because we learn much from the lessons of this... F. Watson, member of the NC is no longer with us today.

Johnstone, N.C. member is no longer with us. H. Archibald (co-opted) also is no longer with us. The movement is well rid of these persons who do not take our movement seriously. The best elements crystallized around our basic program, and grew head taller in the struggle for it.

Today, two years after the foundation convention, we can say that we have a strong base in the Canadian working class. The party has a strong branch in Toronto - in Vancouver we have a hardened core of revolutionists. In Prince Rupert we had a good functioning branch. In Montreal we made great achievements. We have created a national leadership in our organization. We have created a strong national center for the party. We have given ourselves a place for operation. Today we have a functioning apparatus. Our press appears regularly. We have also issued an Internal Bulletin. Two issues have been put out. The future will see it much more regularly. We were able to give political guidance to the movement. We have picked up many members at large scattered across Canada. Imported a large stock of literature. Increased the circulation of pamphlets and books across Canada. We have built ourselves a solid financial base.

(Gave credit to the Prince Rupert Comrades at this time for the sending of \$70 from the branch when LABOR CHALLENGE was in financial difficulties in March of this year.) Generally, our comrades have responded loyally. Every section of the organization doubled the sustaining pledge. (Re whether the Trade Union report is to be included in the organizational report, the comrades were asked to supplement this report.)

We have exerted extensive influence in the trade union movement. In B.C. the trade union work has been most fruitful. Our comrades there have played an exemplary role. Our comrades took over the TUC of the CCF in Vancouver. Comrade Tom took over as organizer of this CCF TUC. Comrade Lloyd played a very important role in the I.W.A. Comrade Reg in his Union. Comrades Paddy and Angus in Prince Rupert also played a very important role in the Boiler-makers Union. Comrade Bill White has gone on from Prince Rupert and is doing very effective work in the IUMSW at Britannia Beach. Comrade White is vice-president of the local and chairman of the strike committee there. The situation in French Canada is a highlight of our work. Comrade John recently elected to the Executive of the CCF with the second highest vote for the Executive. We were instrumental in rescuing the French Canadian trade union movement from reaction and French nationalism. In Toronto our trade union work has not been so phenomenal as in other parts of the country. Nevertheless we have made great headway. We have achieved a concentration point in one of the major steel plants here. We have set up a TUC in the Toronto Branch.

.....
Our Comrades have made a clean and principled political break from the CCF. The air has been cleaned. Great and new possibilities present themselves. Our operative forces have been increased.

We have lived right in Canada. We have built up on a firm base - set ourselves realizable objectives. We have created a national organization, a national leadership, and we have a good base to go forward. The perspectives which Comrade Murray will outline will present us with new opportunities in the Canadian section of the 4th International and we will grow by leaps and bounds. (We have great opportunities for future development.)

M/S/C That the Organizational Report be accepted.

Discussion on the Organization Report as follows:

Tom. Agreed generally with the Organization Report as outlined by Comrade Ross. Took exception with the report re differences on the perspective between the Toronto and Vancouver branches. Outlined the position of the comrades from Vancouver re entry into the CCF - the reasons for working in the CCF - building of a revolutionary organization. Since entry into the CCF in 1943 the comrades had fought on a principled basis. Re trade union report for BC would rather leave that to Comrade Lloyd who has been playing a leading role in the building of our movement in the IWA.

MD
Murray: "Comrade Tom's report is very valuable in explaining to the Toronto comrades the actual situation in Vancouver." Gave the comrades from outside points a picture of what has been accomplished in Toronto. "We had no full time people working for the organization - this was one of the perspectives of the 1944 conference. The highest ambition any of our comrades can have is the ambition to become a full time party worker." Toronto branch had met in homes - had practically no equipment - no hall etc. Began a hunt for headquarters for the paper and for the branch. This to establish our organization on a more serious basis. Gave credit to the Toronto comrades who helped towards this end. "We have established a branch library here. We have conducted regular Sunday evening forums. Through these forums we have recruited a number of workers to our branch. Study classes have been carried on in this hall. As soon as we became established in this hall, a new atmosphere developed in the Toronto branch. We have accumulated necessary equipment and resources for the headquarters. We have a certain amount of apparatus, and have become fairly well equipped. We must have headquarters in as many cities as possible..."

LW TB
Lloyd: Supplemented Tom's remarks as to our work in the CCF. Gave an outline of the work done by our comrades in the CCF in BC. Had fought strictly on a principled basis. Had made ourselves known through our struggles in the CCF. Reported on the fight in the CCF Provincial convention - the continuation of our fight between Provincial and National conventions. "We have a large influence in B.C. on the basis of our principled fight within the social democratic organization. We made tremendous progress in the trade union movement, although we have not built our party numerically and politically as we would like it to be." Dealt with the IWA strike. Emphasized the point that the main place for recruits for the revolutionary party is in the trade union field. Spoke of the work done in B.C. in the trade unions by our comrades.

SS
Paddy: Dealt with the history of the past activities as outlined by Tom and Lloyd in the CCF and the trade unions - also with the strength of the movement 5 years ago. Had bought over \$500 worth of literature over a period of 4-5 years. Main source of distribution of the literature at that time was in the CCF. Dealt with his activities in the Boilermakers in Vancouver and then later in Prince Rupert - also the part that the other Rupert comrades played - had organized an educational committee - conducted classes on economics and history. Sold a lot of socialist literature in the local. "Formed the CCF industrial club right in the shipyards, as a base for our political activity." Paddy had conducted a class on Industrial History - Angus a class on Marxian economics - Dave, a class on Public Speaking. "Through our activities in the Union we were able to get 72 subscribers in the first drive." Reported that Angus has transferred his activities to the Fishermen's Co-operative along with the rest of the PR comrades, and at the first meeting Angus had attended he was elected Vice-President of the Union. Also on the Negotiating Committee. "The fishing industry is a main basic industry in B.C. employing thousands of workers. We now have a foothold in here." Angus is also delegate to the local T & L Council there. Bill W. is now in mining - Lloyd and the other comrades working in lumber, and Angus and the remainder of the comrades in PR in the fishing industry. "We can not overlook our activity in the trade unions. We have organized a trade union fraction here. We have one comrade on the editorial board of his local union paper in the Printing Trades. In M. Harris we have 4 comrades working. We built a fraction there. The prospects look very good for the future. The activities in the trade union movement may seem small but it is not to be measured in numbers. It is the function of the Bolsheviks to win the confidence and good will of the toiling masses - we must extend our influence amongst the workers."

R1
Ross: "We had no speakers here to turn towards the masses - we had only our press. We were at a disadvantage." Outlined how the Toronto group overcame this. Held forums all winter and developed speakers. Did this with the material at hand. "In our own classes, these comrades led the education. These problems can be overcome by all the branches - developing of our own membership."

GS
Paddy: Raised the question of the Internal Bulletin. "The Int. B. was responsible for getting rid for us of some of the refuse that we had in our party.".....

Ross: Recommended that we draw up a speakers list so that all comrades would be able to take part in the discussion on the Organizational Report.

Bill M: Was asked to give a report on the Montreal situation - declined in favor of allowing John to do so when he arrived from his other meeting.

3:30 p.m. Recessed for a 5 minute intermission.

TASKS AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES:

MD
Murray: Reported on tasks and political perspectives. "This morning Comrade Frank dealt with the main features of the international situation, which applied not only to Europe and the Colonial countries, but also played their role in Canada... This is an era of continuing wars and revolutions. ... the death agony of capitalism, so sharp that revolutionary situations are going to follow one after another which will give the 4th International the opportunity to lead the action in the name of the working class, and eventually establish the dictatorship of the proletariat."
 "All the signs point to a great depression in the immediate future - we must prepare in Canada for a revolutionary crisis - this situation makes it imperative to build our party with the greatest possible speed."
 "One of the main contradictions in the International scene is the contradiction between American imperialism and the nationalized property relations of the USSR."

"In the immediate future we must not only announce the formation of the Canadian Trotskyist Party, but we must do it in a special way. Show that our party is the only party that fights against the coming 3rd World War."
 "This is our Foundation Convention ^{with the} we are not presenting here a completely documented program." ^{Fact that a program is not presented doesn't mean we haven't one}
 "The Transitional Program has to be taken and applied to the Canadian scene. In our press we have carried in a 'box' the transitional demands applied to the Canadian scene - some of the slogans should be changed:-(Point 1) Because of the fact that in this country we have a more advanced proletariat who have a strong sympathy for a nationalized industry. We must come forward and present our transitional program on this question. Would suggest that we change this slogan to bring it up to date."

Suggested we should have slogans which would translate our position on Imperialist War and the war danger to the masses. Point 9 of the American party's program should be one of the most important planks in our program:
Point 9: A WORKING CLASS ANSWER TO CAPITALIST MILITARISM AND WAR.

Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!
 Against capitalist conscription!
 Abolish the officer caste system!
 Full democratic rights in the armed forces!
 Trade union wages for the armed forces!
 Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

Other slogans - Point 5 (our transitional program) - we must concretize this program - Billion Dollar Housing Program. "These are some of the tasks and perspectives of our party on the political field."

"We should set ourselves the task of drawing up a Declaration of Principles for the party which must be published in our Internal Bulletin, circulated to all the party members, discussed early, and adopted, and printed in English and French in pamphlet form."

"In order to develop ^{+effectively utilize} this program, we must concentrate our forces. In RD Ross' report he spoke on the representation at the 1944 conference. We know that at this period of radicalization of the Canadian working class there are all kinds of opportunities for us. We have only a limited force - we have to take the forces at hand and concentrate them on those fields where we can get the most results."

"We have had a number of reports arising from RD Ross' report - we have also had reports from the various branches.....Trade union work for us is not an end in itself, it leads directly to party building."

Re Montreal Group: "As far as our political group is concerned we have much more influence in the trade unions than we deserve. We have a very weak branch in Montreal. This must be overcome in the near future. We must develop our task of party building. Without a solid branch in Montreal, the trade union work of our party in that city will be in danger. We must have a solid base under our comrades who are working in the trade union movement there."

"In Prince Rupert we had established during the war a branch of seven comrades. Several of these comrades have left Prince Rupert. PR for our comrades must be considered at this time not a key town. We must draw the best elements out of Prince Rupert and send them to other concentration points - Angus to Toronto and the other comrades to Vancouver."

"We must build a strong center in Toronto - this will aid all the other branches materially. From Vancouver Comrade Tom has come to aid in the strengthening of the Toronto center. Everyone in Toronto must stay in Toronto with possibly one or two exceptions. The task that faces us in a concentration here is to develop three key points - the center, Montreal, and Vancouver. In order to develop Montreal, one of the leading comrades from the center must have this perspective of going to Montreal within the

next few months. This means that in the center the comrades in Toronto must take upon themselves the task of working more on national problems. With the carrying out of these concentrations we will be able in the next period to make terrific strides."

FINANCIAL TASKS FACING THE PARTY: "At the present time we have an income from the party branches of approximately \$300 per month, and from new subscriptions approximately \$30 per month. With two people on the staff publishing a twice monthly paper, a conservative estimate of our total expenses is \$440.85. This does not allow for any extra organizational work. We have a monthly deficit of \$140.85 per month. This is our present budget. We have followed the policy in our press of having one financial campaign per year."

"Immediately following our convention we should launch a financial drive to raise a fund to stabilize and organize the new party. We should set ourselves the objective of \$1500. This is one of our primary tasks at the present time. We must extend the influence of our press. Our press is our best organizer. It has taken our program into new layers of workers. It

meets with favorable reception, and proves to us that our program is correct. Next Spring we should launch a subscription campaign. The organization as a whole should set itself the task of obtaining new subscriptions on the basis of two subscriptions per member per month."

"One of our big tasks is to put the party on the map. This is a big job. We can't do it through our own press. We have put out 24 issues of our paper - 90,000 copies. One of the methods of bringing our party to the workers is participation in election campaigns. We should run candidates under our own banner. Make the workers acquainted with the formation of our party, and our program."

Perspective to be set in the various branches: "In Toronto in the report of what has been accomplished, ~~Ross~~ spoke of the formation of a trade union fraction in the M.H. plant. Where possible we must concentrate our work. Putting comrades in key industries. We must set ourselves the task of getting strong fractions in at least two key industries. Development of our trade union fraction will be greatly aided by Tom's stay in Toronto. One of the main tasks facing the Toronto branch is the getting of a bigger headquarters. Toronto branch should set itself the task of holding several big mass meetings."

"In Vancouver: There is a great job to do in Vancouver. Vancouver has always been one of the key cities of the CP and there is a lot of radical workers in Vancouver. One of ~~their~~ prime tasks is to put the party on the map there by participating in elections - must obtain a headquarters - set up a strong branch. Must develop intensive educational work. This job must be aided by the national organization. Must be aided by the publication of a regular combined Internal Bulletin and Party Builder. The comrades must educate themselves - and the new comrades coming in."

"These are some of the tasks which face us in the immediate future. We should have a thorough discussion on these. They are within our possibilities and they will bring fruitful results. I submit these recommendations to you as a basis for discussion."

ER
Frank: Suggested that we discuss the report now en toto, and afterwards we can proceed to vote on the individual items which necessitate a decision.

Lloyd: Would like to see the new comrades present their views first.

RD
Ross: Proposed that we do not take over the various aspects of the (Transitional Program) point by point.

Bill M: "In changing part of Section 1 of the (Transitional Program) to 'taking over of all key industries without compensation', I would like to suggest that we should 'call for government expropriation of all key industries.....' "We should have a clear call for a revolutionary defence of the USSR inserted in our program."

RD
Ross: "We should have a good discussion on our transitional program. We should immediately promote a discussion in our branches on this through our Internal Bulletin. "The NC should revise the (Transitional Program)" Requestion of the defence of the USSR: "It is quite correct that we do not include this slogan in the transitional program. It is no doubt that this is part of our position - we are for defence of the Soviet Union." But the boy is not our complete program. That section devoted to fight against war can only be considered as defence of Union. "We should start education along the lines of the significance of the transitional program."

Re concentration of our activities: "We must look at it from the long term perspective of our movement. We have been plagued by all sections in the country for help."

"We already have three organizational basis for our movement. The situation in certain of these three sections presents us with different problems!"

Dealt with Vancouver - must consolidate the work done by our comrades in Vancouver - must import the comrades from Prince Rupert.

Re Montreal: "We have great opportunities developing there. The comrades here are not in a position to build the party due to their activity in the trade union movement. We have sufficient persons here, who with a person of political and organizational experience, would form a stable branch."

In Vancouver the question of consolidation - in Toronto a question of developing the comrades here at present.

LW Lloyd: Agreed with the outline given by MD Murray generally. Re consolidating Vancouver organization, we must bring the branches together - carry on an educational campaign. We must all get down to writing trade union articles for the paper in order for the paper to appeal to the workers in industry. Did not agree with bringing Angus to Toronto. Re Montreal, something has got to be done.

ER Frank: Spoke on the problem of the "box". "The box" is not the transitional program - it is an agitational condensation of the immediate planks that the party is agitating for in any given country. There are various important things which are not in the "box". What is necessary today for the Canadian party is to bring the (transitional program) up to date. The issues of last year are past - the issues of this year are the order of the day. The NC should rewrite the "box" in order to bring it up to date with the problems that the workers face today."

Dealt with the question of the defence of the USSR - also the question of nationalization of industry without compensation.

"The Canadian party is a young party going out to win the support of the Canadian working class - confronted with two powerful rivals each stronger than you - on the one hand the Stalinists, on the other hand the social democracy in the form of the CCF which is a "mass" movement and has the outright support of one half of the trade union movement. You can not grow, in the historical sense, until these two rivals have been destroyed. We had that problem in the United States for many years - we understood from the very beginning that our job was to destroy the influence of these rivals."

Dealt with the resignation of our comrades from the CCF. "This should not confuse us with our national attitude towards the CCF. It is the arm of one section of the trade union movement and in that sense, a "mass" party. We are a rival party in one sense. If we were strong enough we would appear at every workers gathering and expose the CCF - but we are not strong enough. We are criticizing it, but we do it from the point of view that we are proponents of the Labor Party setup - we are pro CCF in that connection, but we want it to have a genuine working class basis. The whole tenure of our relation to the CCF has got to be that of a sharp opponent. We do it from the point of view that we want the CCF to be what it should be - a genuine socialist party."

Dealt with MD Murray's proposal re going to Montreal.

Comrade ^{FR}Frank summed up his observations of Murray's report on our perspectives as follows:

- (i) We have got to build the party organization in Montreal worthy of the trade union support there is there for our comrades.
- (ii) In Toronto you have a political branch, but one weak in trade union influence and strength. It is the center of the party and that makes it doubly important.
- (iii) Vancouver: Our comrades there are experienced and able mass workers - there is every opportunity now of setting up the political structure of that movement.

Spoke re moving of Angus from Rupert. Urged that special consideration be given in all cases to finances and circumstances peculiar to each individual case. *But everything must be done to build the centre and help A see his way clear if possible to come East.*
 Concluded his statements by saying that the program was a realistic one and the convention ought to adopt it.

M/S/C We adjourn.

Time 5:30 p.m. - To reconvene Sunday morning at 10 a.m.

.....

Sunday Morning, Convention reopened at 10 a.m. with Comrade ^{GS}Paddy in the chair

Montreal Report given by Comrade John: "The Montreal group is, in composition, a little different than the other groups. Not much of ~~an~~ proletarian composition. The group is composed of middle class people, who because of their work, makes it difficult to have regular meetings. Some of them are photographers, some are reporters, etc., they are being assigned tasks that take them out of town. We have one comrade who is an industrial worker. She is ~~so~~ tied up with personal affairs. We have two in the trade union field - I as organizer for the CCL and Arthur also an organizer. We have a certain amount of contacts on which we are working gradually, but most of our work is concentrated on trade union activities. Our trade union work keeps us busy. We have not much time left to do any direct political action. The people who compose the group have good salaries and they can make a very important contribution in terms of finances. We still have not a really active group. Meetings are scarce. We have the intention of getting the group together as soon as we return to Montreal."

Perspectives of the Montreal Group: "We have quite a field of operation in Quebec. We have to consolidate our position in the trade unions. We can play an efficient role in the trade union movement. We have hold of a trade union paper in which we can advance our transitional program. I feel that with the situation developing with the CCL in Quebec we now look forward to a greater organizational developments. In Quebec, the CCL with proper leadership can expend itself.....Through the wage drive there is a basis for greater unity between the French Canadian and English Canadian workers."

Re trade unions in Montreal - the Labour Council is partially controlled by the LPP, because the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Steelworkers withdrew from the Council. There is now a possibility of getting them back

into the Council, and together drive the LPP out of dominant posts in the Labour Council.....

.....
Dick: "Does any group actually exist in Montreal?"

John: "There are people who function as a group."

Dick: "I think that Comrade John's report makes it quite evident that we should sent Comrade Murray there in order to have a functioning branch there."

Tom: "John should give us an outline of the relationship of forces in the Province of Québec between the LPP and the other parties."

Frank: "John through what unions does the LPP exercise its strength in the Labour Council in Montreal?" "What is the overall membership of the CIO in Quebec?"

John: "The membership of the CIO-CCL in the district covered by the Regional Office is between 20,000 - 25,000 workers. Unions controlled by the LPP in the Labour Council - Fur & Leather Workers (1800 members) United Electrical (1000) no other important unions. In the A.F.L. - the C.S.U. LPP controls the executive positions in the Textile Union - Plumbers & Steamfitters, Machinists."

Dealt with the situation in relation to the CCF in the Province of Quebec. Also with the LPP and the Bloc Populaire. Social Credit have a chance in the rural areas. Liberals in the cities. Union Nationale also strong in rural areas. CCF reduced organizationally to an office. Re the LPP "Outside of Cartier and their influence in the Montreal Labour Council, they are not yet a force we have to worry about too much."

Lloyd: "Would like to see a group functioning as soon as possible in Montreal. "There are great possibilities for building of the revolutionary movement in the Province of Quebec." Would like to see a leaflet printed in French distributed - presenting our program to the French Canadian workers."

Ross: Dealt with the question of French literature. Ordered 50 copies of the Manifesto of the French Party of the 4th Intn'l. (April Conference) Also spoke on the question of the CCF in the Province of Quebec - compared it to the CCF in Ontario. Gave his impression of the influence of the LPP in Quebec in the Unions there.

Murray: "It would be wrong for us to say that the drop in the CCF vote between 1944 Provincial Elections when the CCF had 30 candidates and in the next election when they had twice as many candidates, did not have any political significance."..... "In line with what Comrade Frank stated yesterday, we are not going to build the party in this country parallel to the LPP or the CCF. We have got to destroy their influence before we can build a mass party. We have got to destroy their hold on the advanced workers. We have got to set ourselves the task of building the cadres of the revolutionary party in the Province of Quebec - getting a firm core of French Canadian workers."

Tom: Pointed out that the discussion we are having today on the French Canadian question is a more practical discussion than we had in the conference in 1944. "I agree with Murray's outline."

- M/S/C The organization should accept the quota as outlined, to set itself the goal of 2 subs per member per month.
- M/S/C Comrade Murray be sent to Montreal in two months to help organize the party there.
- M/S/C Comrade Tom should stay in Toronto to aid the work of the national office in the Toronto branch.

On motion the following other perspectives for Toronto were adopted:

Participation in Municipal Election Campaign in Toronto 1946.
Establishment on a firm basis of two main trade union fractions in Toronto - Massey Harris and chemical industry.
Recruitment immediately from the trade unions.
Bigger headquarters for the Toronto Branch and National Office.
Regular Forums, Study Classes, and Social affairs.
Arrangements for two mass meetings for the coming winter.

Re Election:

M/S/C We look towards the perspective of the Toronto Branch participating in the Mayoralty election.

M/S/C That the NC publish a regular Internal Bulletin and Party Builder.

M/S/C That we import educational material from other sections (French & English) of a direct educational character - (pamphlets, such as Manifesto of the recent conference of the 4th International, Death Agony of Capitalism, etc.)

On motion the following perspectives for Vancouver were adopted:

Establishment of a headquarters.
Consolidation of the Branch - into one solid branch.
Intensive educational program.
Holding of forums, study classes and mass meetings.
Possible participation in elections.
Development of its own people - with co-operation from SWP on the West Coast.

Tom: Suggested that we should get some help for Vancouver.

Murray: "With our present forces we cannot find a solution for this at the moment. We must try to get closer co-operation with the comrades in the SWP on the West Coast to ~~aid~~ aid in this work."

Moved and Seconded (later motion withdrawn) Incoming National Committee immediately investigate the possibility of bring Angus to Toronto and also the possibility of the rest of the PR comrades helping in Vancouver.

Frank: "An agreement should be arrived at with the Vancouver comrades that they are going to have a consultation with the PR people with the idea that those that can should go down to Vancouver wherever practical. Also a consultation should be had with Comrade Angus with the general understanding of trying to have him see that it is best for him as well as the National office that he come to Toronto. Furthermore, in these shifts a certain financial expense is entailed which the comrades themselves can not always

always meet. The party should be prepared to help in a modest way....."

M/S/C We adjourn. Time 1 p.m. To reconvene at 2 p.m.

.....

Meeting reconvened at 2 p.m. with Comrade Paddy in the chair.

Discussion on NAME OF THE PARTY:

Proposal from the Toronto Branch - Intn'l Communist Party.
 " " 2 Vancouver " - Revolutionary Workers Party.

(other names suggested - Communist Workers Party, Socialist Workers Party)

M/S/C That the name of the Party be the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY OF CANADA. (Unanimous)
 Discussion on the motion participated in by Comrades, Ross, Murray Tom, Lloyd, Paddy, Bill Morrow.

NAME OF THE PAPER:

M/S/C That we maintain the name of the paper - LABOUR CHALLENGE.
 (unanimous)

CONSTITUTION:

M/S/C That the Constitution be read right through.

Amendment to Article II proposed by the Toronto Branch (inserting words "and lead") was defeated.

M/S/C That Article III, Section 1, be amended to read "...accepts the program of the Party" in place of "accepts the Declaration of Principles."

Re Article V - Section 3 (Administration)

M/S/C That the number of members comprising the National Committee be left over until after the elections.

Re Article VII - Section 2 (Initiation Fees and Dues)

Amendment proposed by Comrades Tom & Lloyd "Each member shall pay a monthly dues of One Dollar"-(in place of monthly dues of .50¢) Amendment lost.

Suggestion made by Comrade Ross that Sections 5 & 6 - Article VIII be clarified for Toronto comrades,

M/S/C That Section 6 - ARTICLE VIII be amended to read: "Persons who have in the past been expelled etc. etc."

M/S/C Proposed Constitution be adopted as amended.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE:

M/S/C That the suspension by the NC of Comrades Watson, Johnston, and Archibald be upheld.

Discussion on above motion - Tom: Stressed need for collective leadership.
Ross: Suggested that documents pertaining to suspended members be appended to minutes if required.

M/S/C That the NC consist of ~~nine~~ (9) members.
(Amendment made for 7 members was lost)

Nominated: RWB, RD, LW, AM, TB, DW, JB, MD, MB, PS.

Elected: RWB, RD, LW, AM, TB, DW, JB, MD, MB.

M/S/C That the 10th nominee to the NC automatically becomes the alternate member of the NC. (PS)

M/S/C That we make formal application to the 4th International for affiliation.

M/S/C That we adopt as our insignia the hammer and sickle with a 4.

M/S/C We send fraternal greetings to the SWP in Convention and to the International Bureau.

M/S/C We extend thanks for the valuable assistance given to us by Comrade Frank.

M/S/C We also send greetings to the wife of Leon Trotsky.

Meeting adjourned 5:30 p.m. with the singing of the INTERNATIONAL.

October 9 1946

Dear Ellaline;

We received both of the statements by you and the Whitneys but unfortunately just a little too late for the last issue of the paper. Both are very good and I will take ~~XXXup the statements~~ of publishing them with Murray. I am sure there will be room for at least one of them anyway in the next issue which we are getting ready for press now.

All the news that we have been receiving from Vancouver has been excellent lately. We just received the minutes of the last meeting from Reg and the way ~~you~~ have started off leaves no doubt in my mind that we will soon have a very large and effective branch there. Everything appears to be placed on a sound organizational footing and what with the able comrades there and the extensive influence we have in industry and CCF circles we expect that Toronto will have quite a battle to keep up with you. All the comrades who were here for the convention impressed us very much with their experience and serious attitude towards the movement.

How did the paper distributions turn out? I have your last report at hand but I forgot to turn it over to the comrade who usually writes the business manager column. If you will continue to send us the highlights of distributions and and interesting information about your sub renewal work we will use it in the column. Fergusson sent us a note a short while ago and reported on some of the renewal work done. I can readily understand from what I hear from Lloyd and Muriel that the subs obtained by Griffin and others will be blanks even after receiving a year of the paper. We have had very good results on call backs. Non-renewals are very rare.

There will be a letter coming out shortly on the stabilization of our sub work. ~~XX~~ The convention decided that we should set ourselves a goal of two new subs per person per month for the immediate period ahead. As soon as the weather breaks this spring we will have to hold another sub campaign. I am confident that with the experience of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ the Vancouver comrades and the extensive contacts they have that we will be able to get 2000 with not real trouble.

I am very sorry to hear about the personal troubles you are having with your husband and sincerely hope that they will be cleared up shortly ~~XX~~ and satisfactorily. We were very pleased to meet the Vancouver delegation to the convention--our only regret was that more were unable to attend. I am sure the comrades who were able to attend gave a competent report ~~XXX~~. However let us look forward to seeing many more of you at our next convention.

Comradely yours

Ross Dowson

October 25 1946

(Stan S. - ed.) (address)

1718 Haro St - Vancouver
B.C.

Dear Comrade Stanton;

It is I, and not the postal authorities or the administrative machinery of the Militant and Fourth International, who must assume full responsibility for the fact that you have not received your subscriptions. I am terribly sorry. The time lapse between the shipping of the order and receipt of the CNR money order was so great that your subscriptions completely slipped my mind. I am very glad that you dropped us a line. I have just returned from the post office and have mailed your combination sub to New York. Your subscriptions will probably start with the November issue of the F.I. I must apologize for any inconvenience that this has caused you and would be only too glad to send you any particular copies of the F.I. that you desired but missed through my carelessness.

Trotsky's "Living Thoughts of Karl Marx" to which you referred is a very fine condensation of Volume I of Capital made by Otto Rhule who was one of the deputies that stood with Leibknecht against World War I along with an extensive introduction by Trotsky. Trotsky's introduction gives the highlights of Marx's contributions and their significance to the workers today. He utilizes the facts and figures of American capitalist development which so brilliantly verify his prognosis and refute the enemies of Marxian science.

I am enclosing a few extra copies of our recently revised book list for your convenience.

Comradely yours

Ross Dowson

(Found in Oct-Nov.) Undated, 1946 (out)

CCF Memembers Quit in B.C.

well known, active trade unionist
Four ~~rank and file~~ members of the CCF in B.C., disagreeing with the official policy of the CCF and condemning the opportunistic leadership, announced in a Conference convened by the CCF Trade Union Committee that they were withdrawing from the conference and resigning from the CCF.
~~placing their resignations from the CCF in the hands of their units.~~

Three of these resigning, Lloyd Whalen, Tom Bradley, R.W. Bullock, were Executive members of the CCF Trade Union Committee. Whalen and Bullock were also Chairmen of local CCF units. The other, R. New, was Sec'y of the Hastings East CCF Club.

This development occurred after the presentation of a report of the recent CCF National convention by Lloyd Whalen (Published in the last issue of the Challenge) In the discussion which ensued ~~W~~ Whalen pointedly focussed attention on the contradictions and vacillations in official policy of the organization, traced the overshadowing effect of international affairs on the determination of domestic policy and the studied evasions of these questions by the CCF leadership and climaxed his remarks from the floor by pointing out that: "He ^w would not compromise his socialist principles by carrying out official CCF policy," and that under the circumstances the only course open to him was to resign from membership. He concluded with a rousing plea for the development of a working class party based upon the principles of scientific Marxism and pledged to unrelenting prosecution of the class struggles. He urged other like thinking workers to join him in this action.

Bradley, New and Bullock posed the policies of the CCF for examination in general and in particular, indicating fundamental lack of a class concept and the impossibility of placing these policies before the organized workers except on a narrow partisan basis. Stressing the necessity of worker unity on the basis of a class program,

they echoed the remarks of Whalen and joined him in calling for a reoriented worker's party. They then formally indicated their withdrawal from the CCF.

This action will doubtlessly produce many repercussions and there are indications that many more CCF members in the west coast Province will follow this lead. It is too soon yet to gauge the full extent of this rebellion in the ranks of the CCF but Labor Challenge will keep its readers fully informed, deeming it one of the most important political developments in Canada in recent months.

30

P.S. Tell Ross that we will be forwarding details of developments just as they occur and that a detailed story of the Conference itself will follow. Significant item of conference, when I concluded my remarks, last speaker, Dr. Thomas, Exec. member of CCF, not addressing the conference but audible to the whole conference, commended me and the other comrades for our principled exposition, said he expected to hear favorably of our work in the trade unions and wished us every success with the work and program.

This information is not for publication but is indicative of possible further break ups on policy questions inside the B.C. CCF. We'll be keeping tabs on it.

Three Leftist Members Resign

REVOLT BREAKS OUT IN VANCOUVER CCF RANKS

By PAT TERRY

Revolt in the CCF by what the party terms "the Trotskyites" has begun in earnest, in Vancouver, with the announced official resignation of three leading and eloquent partisans of leftist direct action who oppose the CCF's mid-way Socialist doctrines.

They are: R. W. Bullock, Boilermakers' Union member, Lloyd Whalen, of the International Woodworkers of America, and T. J. Bradley, former CCF organizer.

Basis of their decision to resign from the CCF trade union committee "and all other offices and membership in the CCF" is, according to a statement issued today by the trio, that:

"The general policies of the CCF are in such contradiction to the needs of the workers, and so divorced from reality, that it requires an act of political prostitution to condone them or fail to expose them."

CCF headquarters have long been aware of the cleavage between those supporting the Bullock-Whalen-Bradley axis and the adherents of pure CCF doctrine, and foresee the resignations as clarifying the party position.

TO FORM NEW CAMP

Question is—what numbers are likely to follow the three into their new camp which it is proposed to form?

Not many, say CCF headquarters. Numerical strength of the CCF rests on belief of CCF doctrine, it is added. They are undisturbed by the resignations.

There has been previous resignations, it is pointed out.

The three former members state: "Together with many other former members of the CCF who are readers of the 'Labor Challenge'—a paper 'devoted to the class struggle' and published twice monthly in Toronto—we have founded a . . . Supporters Club. We understand that similar units have come into being in several sections of the country."

They urge a national convention of such groups "for the purpose of forging a revolutionary party based upon the principles and policies editorially supported by the Challenge."

Enlarging on reasons for their resignation, Messrs. Bullock,

Whalen, and Bradley quarrel with CCF support for UNO (which they have made the spearhead of their attack on CCF doctrine at local conventions and meetings), and CCF program for general Canadian affairs.

SUPPRESSION CHARGED

They accuse the CCF of suppressing intentionally "critical analysis of the United Nations."

Within the past few weeks, Lloyd Whalen has vociferously charged, at CCF meetings, that he has been prevented from full argument against the CCF international stand, a charge as strenuously denied by solid CCF supporters and party officials.

They say, arguing the CCF's national platform, that "effect of the actions of CCF leadership is to seal the workers within capitalistic structural forms, and hamper the struggle of organized workers to better their lot."

Instanced in support of this is CCF participation in deliberations of the federal government's "Standing Committee on Industrial Relations."

CCF leaders are charged with being guilty of "opportunistic careerism."

PROUD OF FIGHT

With the picture of heated argument over the past months in their minds, CCF headquarters answered the resignations today with the statement that, in "view of disagreement on fundamental issue," the resignations are "quite proper."

The trio has no "ground for complaint that they have not been accorded full freedom of speech within the CCF."

The party, headquarters says, "is proud of the fight of its members of the Industrial Relations Committee in defense of the living standards of industrial workers. In the recent hearings of . . . that committee they accomplished much more than they could have achieved by resigning."

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY

(4th International)

PUBLIC MEETING

SUBJECT

**"THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION [1917]
and WORLD WAR III."**

Speakers from Revolutionary Workers Party
(Vancouver Branch)

Fraternal Speaker from The Socialist Workers Party
(U.S. Section)

HASTINGS AUDITORIUM

822 East Hastings Street

WED., NOV. 6 — 8 P.M.

FULL QUESTION PERIOD

November 21 1946

(Norack?)
SWP

Dear George;

I must apologize for the long silence. I have just looked back in the files and have found that I failed to answer your very nice letter of greetings to the convention. This is such a long time past that I do not suppose I am called upon to tell you how it went off. At any rate Comrades Frank has no doubt given you a much better picture than I could give. This much can be said for it; there we cut for once and all time the cord that tied us to the West Coast brand of centrism ~~XXX~~ We laid the party on firm foundations and gave all the comrades the feel of what it means to belong to a revolutionary movement. We set ourselves objectives which are modest and I think within the compass of the group but which nonetheless give us a perspective—something to strive for.

If it achieved nothing anywhere else the convention justified itself in recent Vancouver developments. Both Lloyd and Muriel were down. Very fine types, particularly Lloyd who is extremely capable and with great potentialities. Our relationship with Vancouver is a thousand times better. They have a healthy respect for the center and consult us constantly on even the most minor problem. They have set up a functioning organization and the past two months has seen a phenomenal burst of activity. They have been distributing 500 copies of the past 4 issues of the paper at factory gates, etc. They have held two public meetings and are planning one for Dec 21st. Subs are coming in regularly, their financial relationship has improved although on this they could do better and they appear to be developing numerous healthy contacts. As I am writing you it appears as if we will be splitting three or four youth from the IPP. This of course is a terrific development.. These youth seem to be of a very high calibre. All of them appear to have been very active and prominent in IPP circles so there is no telling where ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ it might all end. The branch is composed of about twelve comrades, all are very active, not only in party activity but in the labor movement generally. I was always under the impression that we had many more but it seems that we had been operating in such a loose manner and had attracted such elements that with each step towards the party many fell by the sideleines. Bray stayed in the CCF. It seems that the Lonsdale club has invited Shachtman up to speak. Griffith is behind this and appears to have a little support from such diverse elements as Lamont etc. The Seattle W.P. had Bray down to speak to a steodge labor Party outfit they are developing but I do not think they will get anywhere as the gang they are getting sympathy from are completely demoralized and of many shades of opinion. So Vancouver has fulfilled our expectations.

Unfortunately we were unable to do much for Montreal except plan to send one of us down there at a later date to build a branch which should be easy and give Jean a hand. Frank probably told you that Jean was elected onto the CCL executive. He was unable to attend much of the Convention but Colin whom you have heard about and whom I pulled into the party finally on my way back from the May plenum attended all the sessions and I think he was considerably impressed. Ken and Louis were in Newfoundland at the time. The highlight of our Montreal experiences is the Morrow case. You know we never did

change him on the question of Trotskyism. I guess your article on the Meaning of Labels was not as good as I thought it was. We never made a dent in his petty-bourgeois hide. He wrote a lengthy document in reply to yours in which he called for the purging of Trotsky from our movement..the removal of his picture from the central spot on our wall in the office and its replacement by Marx and Lenin. He also called for cease fire against the Stalinist bureaucracy. It appears that the ignorant masses are not capable of understanding the niceties of defence of the USSR and opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy. I cannot do justice to the article in whose production Morrow poured his whole soul and all his energies. He appeared at the convention and attempted to throw a little of his dirt into the gears. It was here that the convention met the real test. I know of no better ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ no more sensitive instrument to gauge the success of the convention and the calibre of the delegates than to tell you what happened next. About a week after the convention Morrow sent me a letter telling us that he was resigning from the party...why....because at the convention he saw just who and what the party was built of and realized that it was futile for him to carry on his battle to straighten us up...finis. We are trying to get Jean into town for a discussion on the trade union situation. At last the IWA is coming into Quebec. They have accumulated a war chest and the crop appears to be overripe for the picking. Jean in his present position is on the inside of things and is now dreaming of somehow ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ counter checking the Stalinists and at the same time making some gains for us. We have just suggested that he and Colin should use their influence to switch over to this drive and try to get jobs on the inside. They will need a director, organizers and will probably publish a paper. It looks to me like an excellent opportunity to get off the CCL staff into one of the big unions and get ourselves a base among the French Canadian workers. We will always be more or less at the mercy of the bureaucracy as long as we are in the CCL office. Our situation has improved it is true now that Jean has an elected post but we are never going to build a base as any successful organizational work we do will always be turned over to the Steelworkers, U.E. etc. Les Nouvelles is not coming out although Jean is always assuring us that he is negotiating with someone to take over the job. Jean is strongly opposed to our suggestion and has informed us that he will come up for the week-end shortly to talk it over. He is also pressing us to come across with our promise to send one of us down there.

At the convention we set this as one of our tasks. I am sure that we could build a strong branch in Montreal if we could spare someone for a period. However all our plans have been balled up. Morrow went or rather turned out to be a bad egg. Angus appears to be unable to get down here because of family difficulties but seems to be making plans to move to Vancouver this spring. Paddy is a very good type but not of particular aid in helping us solve this problem. Tom has turned out to be a complete flop. No doubt Gord and Joe told you about him. While he was here (about 40 days) he did practically nothing but disappoint us. He is politically and psychologically off his base. His conduct at our public meetings and our ~~XXXXX~~ branch meetings was disgraceful. You know how bad we are as speakers and chairmen..well he is a thousand times worse. All he did was shout and bellow hackneyed phrases. and stumble and stagger all over the place. The comrades were disgusted. ~~XXXXX~~ From the first day he was going to reform the Toronto branch..even get rid of that speakers stand of yours..too much like a church...I have never seen them used before..etc. One of the forums was badly attended so we should hold forums but turn our face inward and hold classes on Marxian economics. At the last branch meeting he attended he came out in opposition to the policy of by-passing the War Labor Boards as infantile leftism. Didn't even know that this was CCL official policy and when comrades got up to speak attempted to shout them down. We had little opportunity to talk things over with him as he turned up at the office only when he was on the way over to visit his trade union bureaucrat friend the notorious Silby Barrett

The first meeting at which he spoke ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ and which was such a terrible flop we let go by as he seemed upset and nervous which we attributed to the fact that he had just left Muriel and Vancouver. He missed a couple of branch meetings as he had a night shift to work but at the next meeting he attempted to bull doze Dick and blew up when I called him to order. I had more or less decided ~~that~~ myself that it was time to call a halt but at the P.C. meeting the same week we had a very sharp argument over these Stalinist youth and how they should conduct themselves. I favoured their staying in the IPP and carrying out a principled fight under our guidance. Tom and Murray thought they should come out at once. In the process of the discussion Tom became white hot and called these youth a bunch of bastards (it seems that they opposed Tom on some question) and made the ridiculous charge that I was conducting negotiations with them over the head of the Vancouver comrades. You will recall the letter I sent one of them in reply to his enquiries as to the authenticity of the International Pub. Lenin works. This was part of my negotiations. He picked up his chair and sat over in one corner of the office in a rage. When asked if he was still in the meeting he said yes and gradually cooled down a bit. That week he chaired our ~~XXXXXX~~ Nov 7 meeting and made a farou of it. I had decided to call a meeting of the P.C. to take up this whole matter but on Tuesday morning he informed Murray that he had quit his job and wanted to go back to Vancouver. Well we had an emergency meeting of the P.C. and he ~~XXXX~~ went into a song and dance how he could not adjust himself in Toronto, could not work, etc. and how he felt he would be alright in Vancouver. At the time I was of the opinion that we should refuse his request as I was becoming convinced that this fellow was just no good and would harm the developments of the Vancouver branch. However we let him go. We ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ all N.C. members. Reg immediately wrote back from Vancouver that they had had the same experience with him and was sorry to see him back but was of the opinion that the branch could now handle him ~~XX~~ alright.

That's the story. Very disappointing isn't it. All I hope now is that the Vancouver comrades can handle him and that he won't undermine the splendid progress that has been made there in the last two months.

The Toronto branch is coming along fairly well. Besides trying to bring someone into the centre to give us a little more room to manoeuvre we also set ourselves to develop some of the Toronto comrades to play a more prominent role in the paper and the day to day work of the branch. We have been fairly successful at this task. Joe and Gord as you must have seen have come a long way. We are trying to break Ed into the layout of the paper. We are pushing some of the comrades to write but all this will take some time. Our trade union work has pept up a bit. Hugh is now on the executive of the Massey Harris local of the UAW. Paddy is doing not too bad but has a tendency to wage a one man battle with the bosses on picayune points. I am always in fear that he will get fired. Bert has shown a bit of improvement and is putting out a paper in his local which we are writing for. Cant seem to get any work from the girls but as a whole the branch is developing and expanding. I think we have 30 members now..of course some of them are paper being the wives of the comrades. Gord is going to take a ~~XXXXXX~~ turn on our Sunday night forum, also Paddy, and a little later Vern.

Our big problem is to break out of our isolation. As you know our comrades do not support the forums and those who do never or very seldom bring anyone down with them. As a partial remedy we have been thinking of running in the civic elections which you know require no deposits or signatures in Toronto. Thinking of running against Tory Mayor Saunders. Although we have few persons to work on the campaign and even to do a modest job would be quite a strain I am in favor of running Murray who appears to

have the necessary qualifications. The campaign need not be very elaborate. We could send speakers around to all the election meetings which are very poorly attended but are fairly well covered by the press. For this we could draw up a couple of stock speeches and send various comrades around to the meetings if Murray could not handle them all. I think we could raise sufficient money to go on the radio a couple of times. We could not afford any billboards as they are ridiculously expensive and posters are not allowed on the posts etc. Very few stores would take our poster in their window so we are ~~unable~~ unable to use this method for publicity. We could issue some press releases. I am also of the opinion that we should go down to the CCL and TLC Toronto councils and try to get their endorsement. Saunders is a reactionary and I am doubtful if the Stalinists or CCF will run anyone against him so we should be able to make out a good case for endorsement. House to house literature distribution is in my mind out of the question as our forces are so small and the city so vast. We could increase the press run of the paper Mid DEC to about 10,000 or more with a special front page for Toronto and cover every factory meeting etc. Could do house to house distribution in the Stalinist districts. We will be making the final decision in the next day or so as we will have to announce it in the December issue of the paper. I do not think there is anything to be gained by holding back the news until nomination day as I am fairly certain neither LPP or CCF will run anyone. This of course will make it all the better for us. I hear you are quite an experienced election worker..too bad you cannot be with us.

One thing you can do is give us ~~any~~ advise as to how to operate and also send us copies of all the literature the SWP put out in their recent campaign. This will be a great help to us..I am afraid that sometimes I am inclined to be a little sectarian and I would like to have a chance to go through this stuff. Could you send this material right away. We will return whatever they want.

Joe and Gord have been telling us about the discussions they had with you and Ruth Benson about the possibilities of her coming up here. I understand that the SWP is in a position of having to cut down its staff. While we have not taken up the question at the P.C. I am of the opinion that we could squeeze another person on the pay-roll. I do not know who else is available but Ruth Benson ~~is~~ would be a great asset to the National Office. I understand that she is an ~~ex~~ expert administrator with quite a bit of experience at newspaper work. If she were an orator on top of it all why we could all turn in our keys to the office and make off to Montreal and Windsor. I was hoping that we would be able to solve our problems with the forces at our own disposal however it seems that we will not be able to do so for some period...and I think that it is becoming increasingly pressing that some one go to Montreal. As things now stand the choice is between Murray and myself. But without some additional strength here in my opinion it would be ridiculous to let either of us go, particularly myself. While some of the Toronto comrades are coming along rapidly this developing process takes some time. I have always hated this leaning on the SWP so much as they have greater opportunities than ourselves and need all the personnel that they have so carefully trained but if ~~they~~ they are in a position of having to cut from their staff such a splendid and able person as Ruth Benson why I think we should take her if she is willing to come. If the party or Ruth herself changes her mind and the SWP still has to cut down its staff perhaps you could do us the favor of keeping your eyes open for someone else whom you think would be able to fill our requirements. I think we could consider some younger comrades with less experience but who appears to have great potentialities. Any serious person would have great opportunities of development up here as we have lots of work and many diverse problems. We hereby commission you our special personnel attorney.

We have not yet received the reports on the SWP election campaign although I understand the campaign itself was a great success.and I hear via the grapevine that you were responsible to a considerable extent. It must have been a great experience for the party..a dress rehearsal so to speak for the presidential campaign. Now that that is over what is on your schedule? If you happen to be upstate at all and are free for a week-end by all means come up and see us. At any rate I hope we will be able to keep in closer contact now that the pressure has eased off a bit.

I think this letter gives you a bit of an idea of what has transpired since I let the correspondence lag. Lets know what you think of everything.

Warmest regards

Ross

November 24 1946

Dear Ellaline;

I will not answer any of the points that you have raised in your letter that was received this morning except some details as to literature.

I have just sent off in the mail a bundle of books. It includes

2 copies of State and Revolution	1.00	
Left Wing Communism	1.00	
Imperialism	1.00	
Wage Labor and Capital	50	
Value Price and Profit	50	
Socialism Scientific and Utopian	50	
Communist Manifesto	20	
Letter to the American Workers	10	
On the Br. Labor Movement	50.....	5.30 less 25%
1 copy each of three different Ukrainaina pamphlets		\$3.97

What has prompted me to send this material which are all International Publications except for the Ukrainian pamphlets is your request for ~~XXX~~ copies of State and Revolution.

We have an account with the Stalinist book centre. They give us a 25% discount. I am doubtful if you would be lucky enough to get it out there. We are so afraid that they will cut us off at any moment that we always leave a bill of 8 to 10 dollars outstanding. As long as we can keep placing orders of that size and with your help we certainly can I am confident that they will not cut us off despite the fact that they would like to do so. Since we get a 25% discount we are quite pleased to pass it on to you. I have taken the liberty of sending this stock as I am confident that you can sell it if only to our own comrades.

I do not believe that the Suppressed Testament is out yet. Lessons of October unfortunately come out only in cloth now.

We are of the opinion that it would be most satisfactory from all points of view if the Vancouver branch henceforth ordered all its books direct from Pioneer. You now have a well functioning apparatus which permits you to distribute the labor fairly well and I understand that Kirk has been appointed literature agent. I think there is nothing to be gained in Vancouver ordering from Toronto as it means double parcelling, amiling and bookkeeping. The one thing we should do however is charge the same prices. We have set out prices to absorb the exchange that we had to pay and also mailing, customs etc. I can see no advantage for any Canadian branch to order from Toronto unless we had some special connections that they could take advantage of...Pioneer will be glad to give you the same terms as they give us.

I think that you should do the same thing with the Fourth International. We only get enough here to cover Toronto newsstands and meeting sales.

I am sure the F.I would be pleased to open up an account for you on the same terms as they give to SWP branches.

Of course any political relations that the American party has with our party should continue to be via our party national office....such as internal bulletins etc. But sales of books and the F.M. in our opinion can most rap dly and in every othere sense be more readily handled by the individual branches when they have the forces to do so.

I have sent you the copies of Ukranian literature on the chance that you may have some use for it. We have many copies of any one of these and a few other works besied. We intned to advertize them in the paper. They were printed ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ by a group of Ukrainians who used to be quite active some years ago. Perhaps you will have a call for them. If you could use any more let us know. Havent had a chance to set a price...these are samples.

Have the following titles

Lenin's Testament, Assassination of Kirov, The Soviet Union and the Fourth International, I Stake my Life, Worker's State, Thermidor and Bonapartism...all by Leon Trotsky
Ten Years..Max Shachtman

I have mailed this letter on to you as I do not know if you have settled all your accounts yet and have turned this work over to Kirk.

Thanks for the remittance for the b ulletins etc. Sorry I did not knw you were interested in French. I will send you copies of the theoretical organ of the I. S. which up until now I have been sending to Jean only.

Wa mest regards

Ross

December 3 1946

Dear Ellaline;

I have received your notice that you will only require a bundle order of 300 from now on and have made the change. This issue however I have taken the liberty of sending you 500 copies which I am sure you would have ordered had you foreseen what we were printing ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~. It contains a rather lengthy article which is a condensation of the statement issued by the comrades who have just pulled out of the IPP. I see by the Tribune that the IPP is holding a meeting at Pender Auditorium on December 8th. Can we rally enough forces to cover this meeting? If we have about 8 comrades and two or three distributing with the rest on guard I am sure we will be alright. Probably you know of some other meetings which should be covered with this statement.

I am enclosing a number of receipts that have been accumulating. We are very glad to see that the financial drive is now well under way. How does it look. Have we been able to get donations from sympathizers. Our donations from outsiders have fallen a way down from last year. A person who gave ten last year gives five this year it seems. However Toronto have more persons to work on this time and I think ~~they should be able~~ to make their quota. It seems quite certain that it will be a tough battle and Toronto will not be able to help take up the unsubscribed 160 dollars. How do you stand with your quota? I wont ask you if you will make your quota as you just have to do so...but will you be able to do more than that. We have not heard from Prince Rupert yet. Bill White has sent in \$6.00 which he has picked up from some fellows that he is gathering around ~~XXX~~ A.K. Lowe of Nanaimo. B.C. sent in a \$2 donation. J. McKinnon of Newton, B.C. sent in \$1 and hopes to send in more later on. Aside from Byron Johnson this is the situation with B.C. I am just wondering if we will have to extend the campaign for two or three weeks. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Would it be any help to the Vancouver comrades to make their quota ~~XXXXXX~~. I am not sure how we will make out in Toronto in the next two weeks but I am inclined to think that it might be of some aid to extend the time. A great many of our subscribers whom we know would be willing to give the odd dollar have not been approached yet. However perhaps time is not an important factor for some of the other groups except that it would give our own comrades a little more time and money to lift their own ~~XXX~~ donations up a little higher. Would you give me a very candid picture of the situation as soon as possible so that the F.C. could discuss the problem from other than the light of the Toronto situation. I am asking you to do this as Ruth has not yet dropped us a line and you seem to be working very close with her on this project.

A subscriber W. Deccar 728 E 14th Vancouver has just sent in a sub for a Curtin Collins 885 Richards St. Vancouver.

Warmest regards

Ross Dowson

1947 Ross Dowson speech on World War II (1939-1945)

(transcribed from handwritten speech notes)

(It is now) TWO YEARS since the close of war – with 60 million victims of destruction in Europe.

A war dedicated by (Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie) King, (US president) Roosevelt and (British Prime Minister) Churchill as a war against fascism – a claim underwritten by the CP (Canadian Communist Party [Stalinist]) and the CCF (forerunner of the NDP, pre-war pacifists).

(This war was the) “Holy war against fascism” – against Hitler and Dachau (the gas chambers of the Holocaust); against anti-semitism.

(It was the war of) skillful propaganda playing upon the plight of the German Jews (by the Allies, who) hid their own crimes, in India, against the Negroes. It was a Jew's war – Rabbis Dunkleman, a trade union leader, went active (in support of war). Thousands of Jews looked upon the war and its successful outcome with hope – (seeing) the end of restricted patronage, (the end of) no Jews allowed (in public life), (the end of) job discrimination.

The War ended in a complete and utter victory of the “anti-fascists.” – so complete in fact that (CPC leader Tim) Buck, in the ecstasy of victory proclaimed – “with the triumph at (the Red Army occupation of) Berlin the fate of world fascist beastiality is sealed unalterably, and for all time.”

In the process of the war, 5 million of the 6 million European Jews died. – victims of death trains, gas chambers – fiendish devices invented by degenerates

The horror, the scope and breadth of this tragedy is beyond the power of words to express. This horror is a signal of the barbarity of the capitalist system.

Alongside 5 million murdered Jews are 60 million other victims of imperialist war – (with the dropping of two atom bombs by the US) at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The barbaric treatment of Jews by Hitlerite imperialism is only an extreme expression of the barbarism of the general methods of imperialism in our period – in its mad rush for profits and colonial possessions.

The remaining million European Jews lost all (their possessions, leaving them with) no roots. Those who have been lucky enough to return to their home are surrounded by a hidden hostility. Even in Europe where the war's toll was heaviest, the elimination of Hitler and the destruction of his anti-semitic gangs changed nothing essentially in the position of the Jews.

While traces of Nazi propaganda have no doubt been left in the minds of many layers of the peasants and backward workers, it would be foolish to hold Nazi propaganda responsible for this hostile atmosphere. Hitler didn't bring about anti-semitism. He only proceeded to make use of

the elementary anti-semitism that is latent in the ranks of the petty-bourgeois masses. He fashioned it into a major component of fascist ideology.

The primary commercial and artisan character of the Jews – heritage of a long historical past, makes them NO. 1 enemy of the petty-bourgeoisie on the domestic market. But the middle classes are ruined by the rising pressure of monopoly (capitalism).

The myth of “Jewish finance” diverts the petty-bourgeois' anti-(big) capitalist hatred and is used to divert, disorient and destroy the labor movement (in the same stroke).

No! Neither Hitler nor remnants of Nazi propaganda are responsible for the hostile atmosphere in Europe – for the recent Polish pogroms. The truth is that the war solved none of the world's problems; it has only aggravated them and sharpened them. Anti-semitism and race hatred smoulders throughout the world – because its roots and origins continue to persist even more than ever.

Anti-semitism persists and has taken firmer hold. There is evidence of this everywhere. (It) smoulders beneath the surface but, breaks out here and there in tiny but terrible flames. Anti-semitism remains with us because capitalism lives on and pollutes the world atmosphere with its corruption .

The surviving Jews in Europe are desperately seeking a way out of their misfortune far from the land that witnessed it. Thousands, two years after “their liberation” continue to live on in the infamous concentration camps, suspended between a horrible past and an unknown future.

It demands an immediate solution. None of the imperialist governments, not one, has even suggested a solution.

The Evian Conference: the Great Powers made decisions during the war that shifted millions from one side of the country to the other. They set aside funds which erected mass industries for production of destructive missiles. (They could) find no place within their borders for a Jew – thousands of displaced Jews.

The capitalists and their apologists in their touching interest for the workers, profess concern over possible resulting unemployment (after the war). The workers must advance the demand of elementary humanity – open the doors of Canada.

The working class will look after unemployment by demanding the reduction in working hours. Will the Jewish refugees (become) reliable allies in the struggle against capitalism? The failure of any powerful section of the labor movement to raise this demand – only Trotskyists have as yet done so – has been the primary reason that thousands of Europe's Jews are seeking refuge in strife-torn Palestine.

The British Labour Party bureaucrats have turned Palestine into a land of violence and horror. British imperialism weighs in the balance –(as the) few thousand Jews in Palestine (find

themselves up) against 50 million Arab-speaking Moslems – 50 million Arab-speaking Moslems who in Egypt and elsewhere are in revolt against her (British) imperialist rule.

What weight has the handful of Jews in this cynical ploy of imperialism? Neither “justice, promises” or terrorist threats will cause the British profiteers to risk losing their control of the Suez Canal and their last oil fields.

(For) Palestine, the Zionist dream has become a land of curfews, terror, concentration camps, in a word a bloody trap. In their ruthless determination the British Labor imperialists imprisoned hundreds of Jews in the stinking and foul holds of the Exodus and Runnymede Park (refugee ships)Back to the concentration camps at Belsen. This ruthless act symbolizes the terrible plight of the Jews.

Exterminated in Europe. Mortally threatened in Palestine. And elsewhere? Even elsewhere a dark future looms. In London (England), Mosley's rats are coming out of the gutters. Fascist gangsters attack Jewish homes and stores. “Heil Hitler -- murder the Jews” resounds in London streets especially in Jewish areas.

Here in America one is beginning to feel the latent anti-semitism. As yet it shows itself by restrictions from certain clubs, organizations, places of amusement. Discrimination in certain lines of business and in certain companies. (In the) Social Credit (Canadian right-wing monetarist party) – in the CCF – in the labor movement, the anti-semitic spirit is already here; it is already powerful; it merely slumbers.

In Canada and the U.S. As yet the forces of the working class are building strength, testing themselves against their capitalist masters in isolated and occasional struggles to defend their living standards, their civil rights, their trade unions!

These skirmishes are but the opening sorties of the class war which will ultimately decide the fate of humanity.

As soon as the workers move over to working class political action in their great power, the capitalists will not hesitate to unleash their shock troops to exploit all the basest instincts and racist prejudice that still slumber in society.

Among the lower layers of the middle class and the army brass, anti-semitism slumbers. The violent social crises in the offing with its sharpening competition and increasing unemployment will spell the middle class ruin. They will be a terrible potential force for every form of race hate.

Anti-semitism is the indispensable instrument of decaying capitalism. Armed with this weapon capitalist reaction will hope to crush the working class, their unions and their political parties. Hitler did it and the Canadian capitalists will find their Hitlers, their Arcands (Quebec fascist of this period –ed.), their Gerald L.K. Smiths and (Father) Coughlins (*contemporary American fascists --Ed*).

To be blind to this threat, to close one's eyes to it, is to ensure its victory. (PM Dec. 16. 1938:

Statement of the N.C. announces the foundation of the Socialist Workers League “as being on the agenda – Forward to the New party, Forward to the Party paper!” Mackenzie King in the last session of the House in a fit of anger revealed that the Senate was to be used to defend the capitalist state from a possible CCF House (electoral victory).

Big Business is preparing for a showdown and one of the weapons it holds in reserve is race (hatred) and its most violent and dangerous form, anti-semitism. Yes! Anti-semitism is here, at present it burns beneath the surface but its tiny flames burst through and expose the great danger.

It must be fought now while it is small and weak. It must be stamped out, squashed wherever it appears and whatever its form. The labor movement and above all the Jews themselves must be on guard. All forms of passivity and defeatism must be burned out at their roots.

Large sections of Jewry have the conviction that they cannot prevail against their enemies. The source of this poison is the numerically small Jewish bourgeoisie and sections of the Jewish petty-bourgeoisie. (Newspaper clipping referred to here) -- they hope and pray that the anti-semitic peril will not grow and flourish – if it is ignored, keep quiet about it.

We can see the reflection of the cowardly policy in the actions of the CCF leadership in their dealings with the BC-CCF editorial. Again, (it is) the attitude of the Jewish trade union leadership who desire to carry this fight against anti-semitism in the CCF, behind closed doors.

(In Britain) while the Jewish petty-bourgeoisie and the trade union bureaucrats burrow their heads in the sand, the Fascists are spreading their poison in London's [*English*] streets. The (British) Labour (Party) government, up until today took no action against these hooligans. They took no action under the excuse that it was necessary to defend freedom of speech. Freedom of speech for Fascists [like the] (democratic right of scabs) [*strike-breakers*]

This morning's paper announced that criminal proceedings have been started against two cases – this took place only after the London Trades Council representing 650,000 workers called for a ban on all fascist activities. .

The Communist Party [Stalinist] declared that “We have decided not to rival the fascists as our name is becoming associated with undesirable publicity.”

Undesirable publicity!

We Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) are proud to be associated with the militant action against the fascists. We have called for the setting up of Workers' Defence Guards to defend workers meetings – smash the fascists now – militant struggle against fascists now.

The tragedy of Europe's Jews is only the symbol – a mirror of the future for all humanity, if capitalist bestiality remains on the scene.

The way out for humanity is the struggle against capitalism, for the socialist world. It is at the

same time the only solution of the Jewish Question. The class struggles in all countries of the world will decide the fate of mankind and at the same time the fate of each people in particular.

The will to struggle of the working masses of all countries is being mightily affirmed – in Indonesia, China, the great strike waves of last year in the U.S., and Canada (Bill 39), in France and Italy. It is upon this will to struggle that the hope of mankind and above all its most oppressed sections, particularly the Jews must fix their hopes.

For what else in the whole wide world is there left to fight for, except the socialist revolution? All other roads have failed. Fascism or Socialism: thus stands the order of the day.

“LENIN AND CANADIAN WORKERS”

(Transcription from handwritten notes for a speech or educational talk by Ross Dowson, c.1947, found attached to speech notes “A Lenin Tribute dated 1947 adjacent in this archive)

[Web Ed. additions or comments in square brackets]; (grammatical additions)

“His confidence in the working class *[marked his personality from an early age... he was constantly]* associated with their circles and not intellectual circles – *[he led a]* simple life in Zurich

The *[“]German agent[“]* story: A prominent SD *[right-wing German Social-Democrat who]* tried to enter the train *[carrying Lenin and his colleagues]* across Germany suggesting that the party not speak to these traitors *[as Lenin had decided to risk accepting the German regime's offer to provide him passage to Russia in order he could destabilize Russia according to their wishes -- but, as history demonstrates, allowed the Bolsheviks with Lenin at their head to take a leading role in the insurrection of 1917 – Web Ed.]*

Lenin said to the Bolsheviks *[participating]* in the Tzarist Duma (*parliament*): “You just get up and tell entire Russia plainly about the life of the workers. Depict the horrors of the capitalist galleys, call upon the workers to revolt, fling into the Black face of the Duma the names of scoundrels and exploiters”

[R.D. speaking notes] Lenin – the practical politician, the internationalist.
The Organizer – the theoretician.

[Lenin's leadership in the October Revolution of 1917 displayed the importance of the] Role of the individual in history. Lenin spanned our epoch. His works and their pertinence today *[stand out, despite the efforts of the official Stalinized Communist Party after 1928.]* How they attempt to turn Lenin into a harmless icon. **We are not interested in solely perpetuating his memory – but we want to make Lenin useful to the working class in death as he was in life** (*emphasis by the author*).

Lenin was the leader of the first successful proletarian revolution, and was for six years head of the government, *[as well as being]* the founder and leader of the Comintern *[short term for the Communist International (CI), the federation of world Communist Parties]*.

How did he do it, *[and]* what theories did he hold ? What tactics did he pursue; what means did he employ?

[Today we must come to grips with the Stalinist so-called] Theory of Socialism in One Country', [and come to the defence of its opposite:] Lenin's internationalism. *[At the same time we must]* Defend the Soviet Union and the cause of world revolution *[and challenge the]* focal point of Stalinism. Defend it, but how?

Lenin *[would have us defend the]* World Revolution *[by]* defending the U.S.S.R.
[For the] Workers in Canada to save the world from *[complete]* destruction *[is our task.]*
“We live in an epoch of imperialist war, proletarian revolutions, and colonial uprisings...
[while the] Stalinists say the rise of fascism has pushed this off the agenda. Fascism in
Germany and Italy is whipped out *[by the Stalinist regime as the overriding threat to the*
Russian Revolution].”

The Left Opposition(*) commenced with a struggle in defence of Leninism – of
international world revolution versus “Socialism in One Country.”

*[*The International Left Opposition founded by Leon Trotsky in his battle against the hardening Stalinist
bureaucratic regime in the late 1920s with the aim of putting the Russian CP and the world movement
back onto Lenin's internationalist politics – Web Ed.]*

[Trotsky's] “Criticism of the Draft Program of the C.I.”** *[at its]* 6th Congress in 1928
analyzed the international character of our epoch.

***[This document was smuggled out of Russia by Canadian CP leader Maurice Spector and American
veteran leader James P. Cannon, laying the basis of the International Left Opposition, which led up to the
founding of the Fourth International in 1938** – Web Ed.]*

*[See Bryan D. Palmer, James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left 1890-1928
(Vol. 1), U. of Illinois Press, Chicago, Chapter 11.)*

[Quoting from the book] “The Third International after Lenin” page 13: “Without
European or world revolution we shall perish” – contrast *[this statement]* with Stalin's
statements *[to the effect that]* we can live peacefully side by side; we can achieve
socialism alone.

[This was] Leninism in Stalin's image – the Great Conspiracy *[Leninism passed off as*
being at peace with imperialism in return for 'peaceful co-existence.']

[In contrast] Lenin suggested that the Party change its name from the CP of Russia to the
CP *[simply]* so as to emphasize still further that it is *[the leading]* party of international
revolution...

Dec. 31, 1919: Lenin: *[declared [“] We know that we cannot establish a socialist order at
this present time. It will be well if our children and perhaps our grandchildren will be
able to establish it [“]*

Feb. 17, 1917: Lenin to Swiss workers on leaving Switzerland: (“) Russia is a peasant
country, one of the most backward countries of Europe. Socialism cannot be immediately
triumphant there but the peasant character of the country with the huge tracts of land in
the hands of the feudal aristocracy and landowners can on the basis of the experience of
1905,*** give a tremendous sweep to the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia and
make our revolution a **prelude** to the **world socialist revolution**, a step towards it (...)
The Russian proletariat cannot by its own forces victoriously complete the socialist
revolution. But it can give the Russian Revolution dimensions such as will create the
most favorable conditions for it, such as will in a certain sense begin it. It can facilitate
matters for the entrance into a decisive battle on the part of its main and most reliable ally,
the European and American socialist proletariat. (“) *(Emphasis by the speaker).*

*[***1905: the first mass uprising against the Tsar and the peasants against the landlords, resulting in a bloodbath of repression, in which incidentally the young Trotsky played a leading role as Lenin was abroad in exile – Web Ed.]*

Lenin: “We have emphasized in many of our works, in all our speeches, and in our entire press that the situation in Russia not the same as in the advanced capitalist countries; that we have in Russia a minority of industrial workers and an overwhelming majority of small agrarians. The socialist revolution in such a country can be finally successful only on two conditions: First, on the condition that it is given timely support by the social revolution in one or more advanced countries ... and Second, that there be an agreement between the proletariat which establishes the dictatorship or holds state power in its hand and the majority of the peasant population.” *(Emphasis by the Web Ed.)*

(See) Stalin on the need for world revolution, the impossibility of socialism in one country – page 36 of “The Third International after Lenin” [Leon Trotsky, Pathfinder Press, N.Y.]. [R.D. note to self:] Towards end of speech take up internationalism of Lenin – how [this was] denied by Stalin and made into “Trotskyism” -- correct – Leninism is Trotskyism.

Lenin: “Russia the land of poverty will become such a land *[of plenty]* if we cast away all pessimism and phrase-mongering, if we clench our teeth, if we gather all our might, strain every nerve and muscle, if we understand that salvation is possible only along the road of international socialist revolution, *[the road]* that we have entered.”

Support of our country by *[Great Russian]* social patriots is a form of the theory of socialism in one country – *[they picture]* our country as the most advanced and most capable of development – *[therefore we]* must defend it *[at all costs – which, under Stalin, meant sacrificing revolutions around the world in the short-term interests of preserving the Russian bureaucracy – the counter-revolutionary policy of the post-Lenin, post-Trotsky regime – Web Ed.]*

[Our Lenin tribute] Meetings are not rituals *[for us as they are for the Stalinists]*. We devote them to presenting the completely contemporary program of Lenin What this program can do. *[The spirit of]* Lenin lives and *[he]* is a man of great controversy. The task of resurrecting Lenin's program is all the more necessary because of the ritualistic pageants which the Stalinists are conducting under the name of the Lenin Memorial meeting.

[R.D. note to self: recite here some] Stalinist incantations and what Lenin said of the social-democratic *[reformist]* treatment of Marx – *[which serves]* to blunt *[his]* revolutionary edge.

The life of Lenin in its controversial aspect – is tied up with ideology – for Lenin's life is tied up with the greatest event in history – the Russian Revolution. *[We have to deal with the]* canonization of Lenin and what Lenin had to say of *[the revolution]*. *[“]All*

praise (to) the realist Lenin["] – [*say the*] Stalinist bourgeoisie. The CCF* says no word except of Marx. [**Canadian farmer-labor party founded in 1935, forerunner to the NDP*]

Lenin lived in our epoch and the greatness of his teachings are applicable today.

(*emphasis by the Web Ed.*)

Born in 1870 – died in 1924 (Marx died in 1883), his life spans the two centuries of Marx and the Russian Revolution. Lenin saw the whole character of our epoch, prepared for it, drew practical concrete conclusions and was alone adequate to the demands of history when the time came.

Lenin's base was Marxism – he brought to it new life, rescued and preserved it from pedants, philistines and enemies.

It is impossible to understand capitalism without Marx. It is impossible to consciously struggle against it without studying Lenin. Philosophers have only explained the world in different ways – the task is to change it. (*One can*) reach this conception in [*studying*] the lives both of Marx and particularly Lenin.

The decisive battle of capitalism and proletarian revolution was not to come until after Marx's and Engels' death – capitalism still had a period of expansion [*to undergo*]. The Age of Imperialism was the epoch of Lenin. The opening of the imperialist stage saw opportunism grow in Second International* reformism [*which claimed*] new horizons for capitalism. Lenin grew up and grew strong in this period.

[**The Second International though it nurtured the birth of the Bolsheviks was abandoned by its revolutionary currents in 1914 when the SI's parties supported their national bourgeoisies at the outbreak of World War One – Web Ed.*]

World War brought the downfall of the Second International [*its parties unable to oppose*] war, hell and death on a mass scale. But it also brought forward Lenin, equal to the demands of crisis, and the Russian Revolution. This revolution was no magic explosion but the culmination of a long previous process of the revolutionary movement within which the 30 years of tireless preparatory work of Lenin played a decisive part. Serious long hard work built the party. (*He*) wrote his first work in 1893 which played a monumental role in the foundation of the Russian S-D Labor Party: “What is to be Done,” in 1902 – on the role of the party – [*in which he delineated*] the character of the [*revolutionary 'Bolshevik' wing of the*] party.

Lenin's fight against revisionism and opportunism [*of the 'Menshevik' wing*] was long and tireless. He broke when convinced it was indispensable to build a mass revolutionary party. Accused of being doctrinaire and an incurable sectarian, he quarreled over phrases. [*Trotsky*] tried to unite with him but Lenin confidently went on – he chose his own path. [*History has proven that*] his [*political*] line was not sectarian but reflected a real understanding of the needs of a revolutionary mass party.

World War One -- 1914-1918 – [*was*] the turning point of capitalism – the hour sounded for world socialist revolution; World revolution started in 1917 at the weakest link in the imperialist chain – (*with*) Russian Bolshevism and Lenin. The central point and turning

point of Lenin's life (*was this*) turning point in modern Social-Democracy – only the Russian party stood by the Basle Declaration [*opposing war*].

Lenin's position on War

[See Trotsky's article in January 1942 FI (*Fourth International, theoretical journal of the US-SWP*): “Lenin on Imperialism” (pp.19-21, *attached*.)]

(*Lenin was often*) harsh, open and fearless in his characterizations of who are our enemies [see: *Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*.] Lenin marked out three tendencies on the approach to war: (1) Social chauvinists (*for*) national defence, socialists in words only: “These men are our class enemies. They have gone over to the bourgeoisie;” (2) Social Pacifists or centrists: who “try to persuade imperialist governments to conclude a democratic peace – “The centre is a realm of sweet petit-bourgeois; (3) Revolutionary Internationalists, (*whose*) slogan is “transformation of the imperialist war into civil war.”

(*In Lenin's*) “Letters from Afar” – he calls for proletarian revolution by the Bolsheviks [*a prelude to his*] “April Theses”* – [*which were*] greeted like a bombshell, as anarchist ravings, as delirium.

[**as he presented them immediately on his return from exile. The 'April Theses' were pronounced by Lenin in revolutionary St. Petersburg in October 1917, calling for the direct seizure of power by the soviets – a call initially opposed by the majority of Bolsheviks – Web Ed.*)]

Lenin was urging the Bolsheviks to take power – delaying means death, and the collapse of the international proletariat [*he declaimed*] . Russian workers (*had become*) the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat. [*Lenin laid out his*] and Trotsky's foreign policy (*for an immediate end to war with Germany and distribution of land to the peasants, and announced the*) foundation of the Communist International [*the world-wide assembly of Communist Parties, which was to become a reality by 1919*].

[*Lenin and Trotsky took Russia out of the World War at the negotiations with the German juggernaut at*] Brest-Litovsk – (*and later established the*) New Economic Policy (NEP)* [*incidentally earning even*] bourgeois statesmen's praise [*acknowledging that the Bolsheviks*] knew how and when to retreat. (*Their*) program was based on the needs [*of the fledgling revolution, on the*] conception of the need to transform the imperialist war into civil war, and the establishment of Soviet Power 0[*and consolidation of*] the Russian Revolution [*with its immediate perspective of*] world revolution [*and the formation of the*] C.I. [*as the tool for this task*].

[* *NEP--New Economic Policy, created to deal with post-1917 wartime economic disruption and food shortages, as a temporary and necessary policy relaxing plans for peasants' collectivization and state farming --Web Ed.*]

The teachings of Lenin: [*he provided a*] clear answer to problems confronting humanity in our epoch, built upon Marxism brought to life.

[*R.D.: Explain -- Lenin's*] World outlook – Theory and practice – the Theory of our Epoch – Imperialism and Monopoly capitalism – The Chief Task of our Times – World Revolution, the direct, urgent and indispensable task.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat (against reformist concepts) [*of class coalitionist politics*] – (Lenin's) Theory of the State – [RD: insert quotation on the] Duma deputies – vs. Tim Buck & Coalition [*leader of Stalinist Canadian CP*]. In capitalist society there can be no middle course between the capitalist dictatorships and the proletarian dictatorship. Any dream of a third course is only the reactionary lament of the lower middle class, [*their advocacy of*] bourgeois democracy (vs) Dictatorship of the Proletariat, [*which in Russia took the form of*] Soviet Democracy – [*in contrast with the Stalinists' portrayal of*] Lenin the great democrat – (with the book "*Annihilation of State Power*" by P. Dutt, p.76 [*see the portrait of Lenin there and of*] Stalin the "cook."

Colonial and National Liberation

(Issues of) New and burning importance in the era of imperialism; the majority of mankind (*has been*) reduced to colonial and semi-colonial status. Colonial exploitation is the main basis of the strength of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat in imperialist nations can only win freedom in alliance with (*these*) colonial peoples.

Revolutionary strategy and tactics

The Party – the conscious organized vanguard – is the centre. The essence of the conception of the party is leadership, the need for conscious, disciplined leadership [*without which is*] failure. The party relationship to the masses, is one of conquest (*winning over*) the masses; (*concerning*) the trade unions and their relation to the party; [*the Party's*] relation to the middle class, its use of parliaments and elections; [*its elaboration of*] transitional and partial demands.*

(*see references to *The Transitional Program* on this website at W20 Marxist Booklist–1972 -- Web Ed.)

The Heir of Lenin – the C.I. (*The Communist International*)

(Today in) 1948 – Do we witness the collapse of (*his*) correctness – [*or*] do these past years confirm his line and outlook?

[R.D. note to self: go on into description of world scene: depression, the colonial world, war]. Lenin is no longer with us; the Fourth International embodies Lenin [*his thought and practice*]. The Third International Lenin built, worked closely in, and lead [*until his death in 1924 from an assassination attempt and stroke* – Web Ed.]

(On) Our cultural role – (*facing*) atomic destruction [*we recall these words:*]

"Only the proletarian, socialist revolution is able to liberate humanity out of the blind alley created by imperialism and imperialist wars. Whatever difficulties, possible temporary reverses and waves of counter-revolution the revolution may encounter, the final victory of the proletariat is certain."

Through the Fourth (*International*) it falls to us to carry forward the fight – in the Fourth.

REFERENCES

The Third International After Lenin by Leon Trotsky, Pathfinder, New York

See also on this Website: 1947-01Jan-1c: "Lenin on imperialism," by Leon Trotsky, January 1942

May 6 1947

Dear Comrades;

The P.C. has further discussed the opinions of the Vancouver comrades re membership at large which arose from a request that B.J. and W.W. for "organizational purposes" be attached to the Vancouver branch.

To date the P.C. in its letters of January 15 and April 16 has dealt with the matter on the constitutional plane explaining that the two comrades in question, one living over 75 miles from Vancouver and obviously unable to attend branch meetings and participate in branch activities, cannot meet the requirements of branch membership and must be considered therefore as members at large (Article III Section 3). When the branch appeared to be transforming a conference of Vancouver comrades plus two or three members at large into some sort of permanent organizational structure through election of officers, the P.C. requested that the branch desist, as according to Article IV Section III of the constitution, Provincial or District Executive Committees can only be formed in such cases as may be decided by the National Committee.

In the Vancouver Branch statement to the P.C. it is correctly noted that the "position has been taken by the P.C. that the request is unconstitutional". At no place does the document attempt to prove that the P.C. interpretation of the constitution is incorrect. If the P.C.'s constitutional interpretation is correct then the matter is a closed book until such times as any comrade feels it necessary to recommend an amendment. Such an amendment would be subject to discussion in a pre-convention period and voted upon at a convention. Until such times as the constitution is changed by the party membership the responsible bodies of the party set up by the convention are duty bound to enforce its rulings. However it is necessary in the interests of the party to clarify some points raised in the Vancouver branch statement.

Inherent in the statement is the idea that the P.C. is correct in its interpretation of the constitution but that the constitution itself is not to be taken too seriously. The statement reads that; "The branch assumes that a 'constitution' is a guide to action and practice and a protection to be invoked against irrational and dangerous organizational practices or activities." The constitution of our party has been tested for many years in the fires of the class struggle and has not been found wanting. We must not take a light minded attitude towards it or be in too great a hurry to revise it. It is certainly not just "a constitution" or a constitution in the bourgeois sense....nor is it merely a "guide" and a "protection". It is the constitution of the Revolutionary Workers Party and is the very embodiment of our organizational principles...."democratic centralism". It is a statement on how the vanguard party must be built and the nature of its discipline.

The document states ; "that it is a weak organizational principle to attach all members at large to the national center" and that members at large, at least in this case, must become what is in essence members of the Vancouver branch. The contrary is ~~what~~ how-

ever the case. The present relationship is a strong organizational principle. The comrades in question cannot function as members of a branch in a Bolshevik party. To consider them as members is to set up a totally new category of membership, a category that can not attend meetings, that has no voice in discussions and decisions and cannot carry out decisions. This is a social democratic conception and not a bolshevik conception of what is meant by branch membership and can only result in the weakening and the degeneration of the party and its discipline.

The document expresses the fear that the present set-up, because of its centralization makes the party an easy prey to police suppression and would result in the atomization of the party should the center be suppressed. No one can have any illusions what suppression would mean for our party at its present stage of growth. We can be confident that the N.O. has taken whatever steps that can be taken to protect the party. But history has shown that it was not the centralized party that was swept away by illegalization but on the contrary the loose federated groupings.

Our organization is not a secret organization and every attempt or tendency to turn its face inwards and prepare for illegality must be fought vigorously. We openly and proudly proclaim our membership in the party. To prepare now for illegality and to permit this to affect our activity at our present stage of development is to commit hara-kiri. Our salvation lies in turning our face outwards, in increased public activity. We have never made a secret of who is a member at large of the party. We have always informed all branches of all members at large in the area where it seemed at all likely that contact could be made. The Vancouver branch has always been informed and will continue to be informed of all members at large in British Columbia. Wherever possible the Vancouver branch should certainly attempt to coordinate their activities with its own through mail, conferences whenever possible, and so forth.

Some of the Vancouver comrades appear to be of the opinion that in some sense the Vancouver branch is a "regional center" or perhaps that its executive is actually a Provincial or District Executive Committee. There is as yet only one branch in the city of Vancouver and there is no branch anywhere else in the province. It is true of course that Vancouver is the hub of the province but this only gives the Vancouver branch a greater advantage in aiding the members at large to build party branches in other areas. The general orientation of members at large is not to a branch in the general locality but towards the national office and the building of a branch in their own area.

The following statement appears in the document. "This method of linking members at large to the (nearest organizational center) would obviate the possibility of contradictory or conflicting tactics being applied to a given regional problem". Differences over tactics between the National leadership of the party and branches and members at large have arisen in the past and will no doubt continue to arise. They can be resolved only within the framework of the party and its general analysis of the tasks confront-

ing the Canadian workers and its perspectives. Should we break down our centralized apparatus so that there will be no differences develop? To follow this argument to its logical conclusion we would transform our conventions into "talkshops" and our program, along with the constitution, into a mere "guide", granting everyone complete freedom to go his own way in the provincial and local arena. The task is not to slur over differences that arise or to change the character of our party so that they will not arise but to resolve them in conformity with our national perspective.

We are a national and international party organized on the tested principles of democratic centralism. We are strong only in so far as the national and international center is strong. The strength of our party is not merely the sum total of the strength of the branches but its strength is in its centralization and its complete coordination around its program.

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The Political Committee of the
Revolutionary Workers Party of
Canada.

Undated, found in 1947 (July)

Dear Ruth:

Just a few words on your remarks about the short article that appeared sometime ago on the buyer's strike. ~~AND~~ I suppose by the time you receive this letter the new issue of the paper will be in your hands ~~so~~ I might as well pick that up too.

After reading the first article over I am of the opinion that it is probably wrongly entitled. The article ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ probably should have been entitled along the line of "Prod the union leaders into action" or "There are no substitutes for a new wage drive." It was not designed to give our position og housewives organizations and the housewives advocacy for a buyers strike and struggle against rising prices. It was designed to expose the trade union leaderships attempt to get out from under the new wage drive. Millard and other as it quotes tried to substitute a buyers strike for a new wage drive. I think it does this very effectively. If it had been written to deal with the program for a Housewives Consumers Organization it would of course been fundamentally different. As it was it could not very well deal with "the organizational and agitational angle" as you suggest.

In this issue we have however an article on the Housewives trek on Ottawa to urge the roll back on prices after the completion of their buyers strike. I think here you will find that the issues involved are dealt with more fully, our attitude explained. We attack the buyer's strike as being a false program for the housewives as it is relatively ineffective and can thus only lead to a feeling of frustration and impotence among the masses. To this we counterpose the program that we attempt to give the Housewives organizations wherever we are. We try to expand them to give them a trade union base and to encompass in their ranks the white collar workers and incidentally the small merchant. We try to give the organization the program of demanding its own control of prices. We expose the government fraudulent control and call for genuine control through the consumers committees. How we try to expand and further the struggle against the main enemy, the big monopolists is very well explained in the January 1947 issue of Fourth International Page 25 subsection 3. I hope you have a copy ~~XX~~
~~XX~~ IF YOU HAVE NOT JUST DROP US a line and we will forward one.

I think that the above slogans are the ones that we would raise in the housewives as the sliding scale is not a slogan that the housewives and petty bourgeois sections of the ~~organization~~ ^{population} can rally around. It is a slogan of militant action for trade unionists. Price committees supported by the trade unions wherever possible can conduct a parallel struggle with the struggle for higher wages and the sliding scale.

We of course should be in the housewives organizations and go along with them in their struggles but unceasingly attempt to give them the correct program. I am sure you have found some very worthwhile contacts there ~~where~~ we can inspire with our marxist insight.

I see that you have had a CCF speakers at your meeting. Would it be possible to arrange to have Reg speak and give our program

I recall now that one of the branch reports stated that you were very active in the housewives organization but it had completely slipped my mind. I am sure there must be development that would be very useful to our readers. Could you keep in closer touch with us and we will try to write articles to the various problems as they develop in your activities.

I am sure by this means we can make the paper much more useful to you in your ~~activities~~ and help build around you and Comrade Whitney an effective fraction.

Warmest regards

Ros s Dowson

ndf. 45-#6 - 1935-41
(5 mo. into NS Coal strike - 1947) Author? Murray or Ross
Dowson (R.D. changes and notes) - ed. 1.

In the past six months Canadian Labour has made vast strides in cracking the boss front. Strikes flare and spread from coast to coast. The Canadian worker of the Winnipeg Soviets is coming back into his own. He once more awakens to his powers with the tremendous demand for labour in the new British-American subsidized war industries after ten years of unparalleled unemployment and misery. Not only are thousands of heretofore untouched workers being organized but their organization at this period assumes a super class conscious significance. The workers of Arvida, St. Catharines, Hamilton, Nova Scotia, strike in the face of a violent lynch campaign carried on by the bourgeois press and most vicious anti-labour legislation. A fact which must be surprising to the American worker is that Canadian labour has no constitutional guarantees of any sort. While the American government can and does override The Bill of Rights and The Declaration of Independence etc. as in the case of the prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party the rights of Canadian labour in the strictest sense are maintained only by its day to day struggle and militancy.

Since the outbreak of war the Canadian government has put into effect several oppressive laws in an attempt to hamstring labour. One of the most important is the application of The Industrial Disputes Act to all vital services---most of the important industrial units in Canada have been declared vital services. Not only does this act compel the workers to arbitrate before taking strike action but before an industrial dispute can be established the workers must vote to strike---must vote to strike merely to apply for a conciliation board. This formality goes a long way in blocking organizational strikes and conciliation boards dawdle and delay in order to smash union influence in the plants. Delays of three and four months are common in waiting for board reports; meanwhile the bosses try company unions, scatter a few crumbs and ~~openly~~ discriminate. In spite of all this the Canadian workers have conducted many large and militant strikes

The employees of National Steel Car, Hamilton, Ont., patiently went through this involved process, applying for a board of conciliation on Feb 3rd. The board was announced on March 10th, meanwhile union members were fired. On April 19 the conciliation

board issued an interim report recommending the reinstatement of the president of the union local pending a final award. Reinstatement was refused and the workers went out on strike on April 26. On April 29 the government stepped in and appointed a controller of the business. ~~with the interference of the government~~ the Editors of The Financial Post shuddered and the Globe and Mail controlled by mining interests rallied to the defence of democracy: "Why an employer cannot even administer his own factory, only 1750 out of 2250 voting workers were behind the union--Its a step towards state socialism. Labour is dictating to the government". With the appointment of the controller the men were reinstated and the strike called off. But the government controller refused to negotiate with the union in ~~spite~~ of an government Order-in-Council that employers should do so. On July 2 the conciliation board finally reported a dead lock.--"the controller advised the board he would not enter into any negotiations or collective bargaining with any union but stated he would ask the employees to appoint a representative committee"--the aroma of a company union is distinguishable. But the workers did not tire and the ~~company~~ union was not smashed and they went out on strike again. The government in order to avert more trouble was compelled this month to appoint a new controller and the arbitration continues----so the powder keg is primed.

The National Steel Car strike is but one of many of the same nature in industrial Ontario and Quebec involving thousands of workers in key war industries. The St Catherines strike at McKinnon Industries a General Motor subsidiary however is typical of another group involving aside from the question of union recognition--wage levels. At the outbreak of war the Canadian government, to prevent sharp wage increases and insure astronomical profits even in those industries which had no fingers in the fat war orders, issued an order in council P.C. 7440---

Wage rate levels established by agreement or practice in any industry or trade nationally or locally during the period 1926-29, or higher levels established thereafter but prior to date hereof shall be considered generally fair and reasonable etc.

St Catherines workers are getting wages much below those that other General Motors employees are getting in Oshawa and Windsor plants and as ~~high~~ much as 20 cents an hour less than ~~the~~ American employees

CM's

However PC 7440 shows up much sharper in a dispute which took place at Peck Rolling Mills Montreal this spring. These mills are owned by Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation who also ~~own~~ ^{Control} most of the Nova Scotia coal mines ~~which~~ have been paralysed for the past 5 months by slow downs of gigantic proportions. The basic rate at the Peck Mills was 30.7 cents an hour with 15cents a day bonus. Fifty percent of the workers got 32 cents an hour or less. The basic rates in other concerns for work of the same nature and even in other plants of the same corporation in Ontario and Nova Scotia vary from 40 to 46cents an hour. The conciliation board found that 32 cents an hour was higher than what was paid in the same plant during 1926-29 and therefor opposed any raise in wages (with government sanction)

On each occasion that labour finds chinks in the states' legal armor that enable ^{her} to continue to function and make gains the government rushes to fill the gap with heavy ~~steel~~ plate. In the Peck Rolling Mill dispute the law ~~fulfilled~~ did its duty-it was 100% on the side of the bosses. But in the St Catherines strike the workers went throo all the processes of the law and still went on strike forcing 5000 workers in the Oshawa plant out of work for lack of materials and costing General Motors hundreds of thousands of dollars.-----so now we have a new order-in-council. From now on its not enough to hold a strike vote to get a conciliation board for even if a conciliation boards findings are not satisfactory you still cannot strike until a vote conducted by the government is taken of all workers involved.

Just what workers are involved is left to the decision of the Dept. of Labour. In this case it would appear that 5000 workers in Oshawa 100 miles away are involved and must vote permission to strike to 3700 St Catherines workers. The Minister of Labor states that its purpose is to prevent one department ~~or~~ a small group of malcontents from tying up a whole plant. Workers who are absent from the vote automatically vote against the strike.

Any employee who takes part in an illegal strike, who does not patiently find his way through this labyrinth of preventatives or anyone who incites or encourages such a strike is liable to a fine of \$500 or 12 months or both. A few months ago General Electric workers in Toronto after attempting on several occasions to meet with the bosses went on strike. Immediately 14 shop stewards were arrested and fined 20dollars ^{each} a day for the 7 days of the strike or 1960 dollars all together. The ^{international} president of their union C. Jackson was whisked away and interned for the duration as a dangerous agitator. 9000 Arvida workers escaped the same penalties only because the RCMP

could pin the strike on no particular individuals. For 5 days, which was the duration of the stoppage, not a scrap of news appeared in the press about the complete shutdown of the largest aluminum plant in the world. At a Royal Commission held to investigate the stoppage the RCMP was unable to substantiate the Minister of Supply's accusations of sabotage and fifth column activity. Apparently the strike, in so far as it was organized, was conducted by bona fide Canadian workers 18% of whom before the strike were members of the respectable National Catholic Syndicate of Aluminum Workers. Troops from the Valcartier military camp were rushed in because neither Premier Godbout of Quebec nor Minister of Justice Lapointe at Ottawa dared send in provincial or federal police for fear of alienating their constituents for such drastic action against French Canadian workers. The Minister of Defence acting under wartime powers was forced to do the dirty work. The Dominion government has since passed an order in council permitting the use of troops in event of threatened curtailment of production in war industries.

But the most important of all the illegal strikes still continues unabated. For 5 months 10000 miners in the Nova Scotia coal fields have been conducting a slow down strike. Coal production has dropped 6000 tons daily. In one colliery daily output has been reduced from 1150 to 850 tons. Minister of Labour McLarty helplessly threatens and froths at the mouth. Government circles and the mine owners try to pass off the slow down as an internal union clash and not a wage struggle. S. Barrett International Vice-President of the United Mine Workers of America signed contracts with the bosses without consultation or ratification of the membership who immediately repudiated both Barrett and the contracts. Neither the bosses or the government recognize the outlaw convention which represents the overwhelming majority of the miners. The Dominion government which subsidized in peacetime Nova Scotia coal 2million dollars a year and considers it an essential service graciously permits Dominion Steel and Coal corp. to refuse wage increases in the face of the government figures of a rise in cost of living of over 12% and permits them to refuse lamps to slow down workers in the hope that a general strike will be called and Ottawa could step in with troupes, fines, and internments. Some of the collieries on Sept. 20 called a 30 day truce on the promise of government and union officials of negotiations regarding wage increases. The Canadian bourgeoisie can close their borders to American trade

5

union organizers, can organize and arm their vigilantes, The Frontiersmen, can finger print the workers and compel the signing of yellow dog contracts---but all in vain. Canadian trade unions are struggling on and up. From 1917 to 1919 trade union membership in Canada grew from 205000 to 375000. All signs today point to a similar growth in the next year. At the annual convention of the Canadian Congress of Labour there were 50% more delegates than last year--this in spite of oppressive laws, intense patriotic appeals and union leadership betrayals. The Trades and Labour Congress even though bogged with jurisdictional disputes and a more rigid and conservative leadership has the same to report----the unorganized worker is being organized.

→ which is the and
Canadian C.I.O. General
Congress of Labour also
also

Canada in the past ten years has produced more than here fair share of blustering, bellicose anti labor bosses, but ever since the outbreak of war most of them have had the good sense and control to keep quiet and function subtly. However, last week ~~Premier~~ Hepburn of Ontario felt the public demand for another crack of his whip---elections are fearfully close and the recent Campbell Soup strike at Toronto gave him an excellent opportunity to show his electors, the farmers, that he is worth his salt. Mitchell Hepburn, in case you forget, received the warm blessings of all enemies of disorder and democracy ~~for~~ his militant struggle in 1937 against foreign CIO agitators from the United States who were attempting to plant their insidious ideas in the minds of the good Canadian workers in General Motors Oshawa plant. Hepburn in true Czarist fashion ordered hundreds of RCMP Cossaks to Oshawa to defend the Canadian workers. For all his protection the Oshawa workers went CIO but Mitch' earned the undying respect of the pillars of Jersey City, Sell'em Ben Smith of oil Fame and the Brothers Franceschini, millionaire friends of Mussolini whom he recently got released from internment camp. For the past few years aside from his share of patriotic speeches Hepburn has been pretty quiet. When the RCMP raided the Italian Consulate at the outbreak of war and interned the millionaire Ontario road-contractors Franceschini Hepburn made a rapid trip to the States for a suddenly needed rest-cure. But as I said before Hepburn's back in harness and the elections are close by. Now don't suppose for a moment that Mitch' was so petty as to interfere in the Campbell Soup strike because of his onion farm --my dear no--Campbells don't make onion soup--they make tomato soup. Campbells in their contracts with the farmers had the great foresight to include a ~~strike~~ ^{strike} clause permitting them to break the contracts and leave the tomatoes on the farmers hands. Now Hepburn, ~~not like~~ ^{unlike} the Canadian government that pays the Western farmer not to plant wheat, is opposed to destruction of food stuffs in war times; particularly when political capital can be made of it. After all 30cents an hour for women 32 for boys and 45 for men is enough for any worker, and what's this talk about union recognition. Into the fray with sleeves rolled up Hepburn gallantly plunged. Immediately dozens of special RCMP officers sprang up standing shoulder to shoulder, surrounding the

plant. And with a noble gesture he provided ~~free~~ ^{would} free transportation to any farmer who ~~would~~ come and work the plant to see that his crop does not go to waste. Free transportation not out of his pocket, not out of Campbell Soups pocket but out of the provincial treasury.

And don't think for a moment that Campbells expected the farmer-workers to accept 30, 32 or 45 cents an hour. They offered 34¢ to women 35 to boys and 48 to men. The couple of hundred ~~the~~ farm workers who took advantage of the offer apparently failed to operate the intricate machinery satisfactorily and in a couple of days the workers went back with a few of their demands tucked under their belts. Hepburn immediately scoots off to frolic with New Jersey play boys and later regretfully states in a continent wide broadcast that; "We are a democracy and its hard for the people to do anything, but the time will come when the American Legion and the Canadian War Veterans will have to deal with those who cause strikes". Cheer up Mitch! You're doing your best--^{and} It aint so hard. But there is one bright spot on Hepburn's horizon--he predicts the defeat of the USSR within a few months. On the day of Mitch's New York broadcast a buddy of his, Hon. W.L. HOUCK, Liberal M.P.P. for Niagara Falls and Vice chairman of the Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission proudly ~~boasted that~~ ^{boasted that} "If Ottawa is unable to handle strikers in war industries"--(and after all they have done pretty good)--"let the federal authorities turn them over to the Ontario government. We will handle the situation in the way it should be handled. If these men will strike, we will either have to conscript them or shoot them at sunrise"----- Ah! Democracy

Down with Hitler
(and the British bourgeoisie)

INTERNAL BULLETIN

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THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

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COMMENTS ON ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS

By Ross Dowson

The problems confronting our party at its present stage of development are many and diverse. They flow generally from the present stage of development of the Canadian party and the character of the period in which the party must work.

We have characterized this period as "the death agony of capitalism," as an "epoch of wars and revolutions." This stage in world history is marked in Canada by militant and mighty upsurges in the economic field and an increasing politicization of the working class.

The world is ripe, rotten ripe for the socialist revolution, all that is lacking is a powerful revolutionary leadership. This whole period, when the most elementary demands of the working class bring them into a head-on clash with all the organs of state repression and terror, is an extremely favorable one for the development of a mass party. It might be generally characterized as an agitational period, when extraordinary opportunities present themselves for the dissemination of a few or perhaps only one idea to many people, which will raise their level to an understanding of their tasks, launch them into anti-capitalist combat and bring them into the proletarian vanguard.

But the RWP is small in numbers, meager in influence in the mass organizations of the workers, and the reformist CCF and Stalinist LPP dominate the labor movement. Our party is a propaganda group and our task is the dissemination of many fundamental ideas to a few people, to train and educate cadres, to direct our main energies towards the most advanced elements in the workers' ranks (the LPP and the CCF) and win them to our banner.

While we are a propaganda group and must perform the duties of such a group, however, the general character of the period in which we live somewhat modifies this fact. On occasion we will and already have had the opportunity to--break out of the more narrow and limited tasks of a propaganda group and participate in and launch agitational actions.

The stage of development of our party and the extreme crisis of world society reflects itself in the party, on the one hand in a desire of some comrades to step out faster and much further than our forces will permit and on the other hand by a tendency to turn the party's face inward, to limit our activities to branch meetings and occasional forums. The former tendency reflects in general the inexperience of our party and its leadership and will be rectified by and large by experience itself as the party grows and tests itself in the class struggle. The latter tendency, a hangover and product of our past years of isolation and inactivity is a much more dangerous tendency and must be rooted out.

We are a propaganda group. No amount of well meaning impatience with this fact will enable us to solve our problems. The party cannot by-pass this stage in its development any more than it can ignore the tremendous barrier that exists in the CCF and LPP. There are no magic formulas or get rich quick solutions. All illusions about this must be scrapped if we are going to avoid the pitfalls of trade union fetishism, syndicalism and adventurism.

That we are generally aware of the possibilities, that we are leaping into the mass movement at every opportunity without spreading ourselves too thin or getting bogged down with trade union fetishism is revealed in the mayoralty campaign put on by the Toronto branch, the fight against racial persecution at Icelandia, the national subscription drives, etc. In this sense it is increasingly required that we be able to judge what tasks are necessary and what are possible in the given situation, taking into account the forces that we are able to deploy.

There is an ever-increasing need to break decisively from the old hemmed-in study class atmosphere and to turn the face of the party outwards and involve it in public activity. It is necessary to seize every possible occasion to put the party's face before the masses and prove to them that our party is the only one that is vitally concerned with their welfare and has a program that meets their needs.

In order to fully meet the opportunities that present themselves we have to root out all these old habits of work that are a product of the past when to even survive was a great feat. We have to destroy every fear and hesitation to indulge in new activities, to bring new workers into our ranks for fear that we cannot absorb them in the party and so forth.

The party must identify itself with the day to day struggles of the workers, popularize its name and its program. Every attempt to hide the party's face, every attempt to atomize its structure and to make the party anonymous, must be fought.

To popularize the party and its program requires the identification of the party and program with persons, with faces, names and addresses. No party can remain anonymous, function, and spread its influence. . . for ideas do not hang in the air by themselves but are carried in the minds and hearts of men. Part of the task of popularizing our program is to popularize its leaders and spokesmen, to identify it with men and women who are its members and who have proven to be loyal and true fighters, whom we hold up as examples for the workers.

It is no accident that all ideas and movements are identified with names: Epicurean, Platonist, Darwinism, Marxist, Trotskyist. The memory of Debs has been aflame in the minds of men long after the party of which he was a spokesman passed from the scene.

"Introverts" may attempt to justify their desire to dabble in

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the sterile atmosphere of a closed study group by raising the bogey of "security" in the face of the rising tide of red-baiting and the anti-Soviet drive. To forestall a possible threat of suppression, they may advocate self-suppression now. But the best defense against the danger of suppression of our party is to launch an offense--to popularize our party, our ideas and our leaders at an increased tempo. Our best defense is to plant our feet deeper into the ranks of the workers. All tendencies to turn back and turn in, only pave the way for our complete annihilation.

This of course does not mean that the party should refuse to take the most elementary precautions which are necessary in the case of occasional individuals whose means of livelihood may be endangered, etc., but these precautions must of necessity be of a limited character. Nothing important has ever been achieved without some risk to personal comfort.

Small study circles, dabbling, talk fests, and party pseudonyms can only doom the party to complete stagnation. Our party is a revolutionary party whose ambition it is to lead the Canadian workers in all their struggles which will be crowned by the socialist revolution in Canada. To do this it is necessary to make it a part of these struggles and to train it as a powerful and popular leadership that the workers can respect for its ability and seriousness. The workers have no use for conspirators, talkers and dabblers.

In Memory of Our Fighting Leader

By LOUISE JORDAN

On November 7, 1941, Canadian labor and the revolutionary movement lost one of their staunchest fighters with the death of Jack MacDonald.

"Mac," as he was known to his comrades, was one of the founders of the Communist Party of Canada and its first National Secretary. In 1931 he was expelled by the Stalinist party because he could not stomach their false policies. A year later he joined the Trotskyist movement where he was a leading figure until his untimely death at the age of 51.

Mac's whole life was spent in the struggle for revolutionary socialism. He was by nature an internationalist and the struggle of workers anywhere in the world drew his sympathy and support. Even as a young lad, working in his native Scotland, his imagination was fired by the revolutionary events of 1905 in Russia and he and his fellow workers did what they could to send aid to their Russian brothers.

Mac was born Feb. 2, 1888 in Falkirk Scotland, one of 13 children. His father was a pattern maker and Mac went to work at the same trade at the age of 14. He had been a brilliant student, a gold medalist, and he won a scholarship entitling him to four years free schooling. But economic necessity forced him out of high school after he had completed two years.

PLUNGED INTO ACTIVITY

Mac immediately plunged into trade union and political activity. He was a member of the Falkirk Pattern Makers Association and

Jack MacDonald



AT 5th CONGRESS OF THE C.I.

its president from 1910 to 1912. He was a member of the British Socialist Party until 1912 and an executive member of the Scottish district Social Democratic Federation. In 1912 he left Scotland and came to Toronto, after a year in New York.

In Canada, Mac continued his trade union and political activity, finding time, however, to get married in 1915.

Then came the stirring days of

1917 and the great Russian Revolution that electrified and inspired the labor movement of the entire world. Mac's work thereafter — his anti-conscription speeches in 1918, his running as a labor candidate in the Ontario elections of 1919, his leading role as vice-president of the Toronto Metal Trades Council during the great upsurge of 1919—all had the goal of establishing a Canadian Communist Party and a workers' government on the model of Lenin and Trotsky.

The movement in which Mac participated so whole-heartedly bore fruit with the formation of the Workers' Party and finally the communist Party in 1922. He was its first National Secretary until 1923.

In 1923 he was a delegate to the Congress of the Communist International. During this same year he ran as a labor candidate in Ontario. For speeches and organizing work in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, in aid of the Dosco mine strikers, he was arrested and tried for sedition but acquitted by the jury.

In the summer of 1929, during the struggle for free speech by the Communists whose open air meetings were under police ban, Mac again hit the front pages. He spoke in Queen's Park, Toronto at a meeting during which heads were smashed, Mac's among them, by police clubs.

In the years after the death of Lenin and the exile of Trotsky, the Stalinist bureaucracy filled the international communist movement with factional disputes and intrigues, and a wild zig-zagging of

policy. These had their reflections in the Canadian party.

Maurice Spector, then the leading theoretician of the Canadian Communist Party, brought back to Canada in 1928, from Russia, a copy of Trotsky's criticism of the program of the Comintern. Spector was promptly expelled for defending Trotsky's position. Mac, who was also impressed by Trotsky's work, continued to fight within the Stalinist party for a correct program until he too was expelled in 1931.

Mac spent a year studying the basic documents of the Stalin-Trotsky dispute and was fully convinced that Trotskyism embodied the heritage of the October Revolution of Leninism. He then joined with Spector and the small group of Left Oppositionists. They worked to build the Workers' Party of Canada and its paper, *The Vanguard*, forerunners of the Revolutionary Workers Party and *Labor Challenge*.

NATIONAL SECRETARY

As National Secretary of the Workers Party and co-editor of the paper, Mac's later years were spent in speaking, writing and organizing for the Trotskyists movement. The bitter years of factional struggle had taken their toll, however. During the last two years of his life, Mac was forced to limit his activity severely, due to poor health.

In spite of his physical illness, his heart and interest still lay with politics and he continued to advise and train the cadres who today form the leadership of the Revolutionary Workers Party. Death from a heart attack took him as he was recovering from an operation and planning renewed political activity.

Those who were privileged to have known Mac and seen him in action, vividly remember his broad, well built form, his neat dress and the twinkling eyes under beetling black brows. A powerful speaker, he was at his best on the platform or in the chair of a conference, guiding and synthesizing divergent points of view. Speaking of chairs, Mac's first speech on a Trotskyist platform was given clutching a chair to fend off the Stalinist goon squad who tried to break up the meeting by violence.

Mac was a plain, blunt speaker who spoke the language of the Canadian workers and could put over complicated or abstract ideas in everyday language. He was known also for his ready wit in handling hecklers.

Once, at an open air meeting on a cold day, he wore a new hat purchased for him by his wife, a heckler shouted: "What do you know about the workers when you're wearing a \$10 hat?" Mac's reply was characteristic. "Sure I'm wearing a good hat, but that's what I'm fighting for—a good hat for you and for every worker!"

Not a particularly patient man, he had endless patience in politics and would spend hours explaining his point of view to a worker. If someone objected that that particular worker was worthless and Mac was wasting his time, he would reply, "Well, he might carry my

ideas to someone else who would be worth while."

On November 7, each year, workers observe the anniversary of the great Russian Revolution. It is fitting that on the same day the workers of Canada should pause to honor the memory of Jack MacDonald, for the Russian Revolution and all it stood for was the guiding star of his life. The workers can best pay tribute to Jack by carrying on to a successful conclusion the struggle for a workers' Canada under the leadership of the party he did so much to create.

New Forces For 4th International

The Revolutionary Communists of Denmark held their second national convention early this October. They decided to continue publication of their bi-monthly paper "Det Ny Arbejderblad" and increase its circulation. Unanimously they declared their adherence to the program and principles of the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution and have applied for affiliation and recognition as its Danish section.

Not Sent
January 20 1948

Dear Tom;

I had intended to write you previously but have been waiting the last week to hear your opinion on the various matters raised in the last P.C. minutes. And was intending to combine this letter with a reply to the expected letter. I hope that your awaited reply to the minutes crosses this one in the mail.

That was certainly a deluge of material that we ended up with on the anti-arms demonstration. Bill sent his first article and when there was no further word and we were ready to go to press we turned it over to another comrade here in the center to bring it up to date. He turned in his article and in the next mail we received your material and another batch of material from Bill. I ended up trying to amalgamate the articles and various notes into one short article. I hope the comrades liked the job. We tried to retain as much of ~~MAX~~ Bill's and the Toronto comrades writing in it as possible and published the editorial along side of the article so we could keep it a news article.

The only thing lacking was the fact that we had not participated in the demonstration. Although we were up to our necks in the election work we had been following the whole situation in the press. I took for granted that we would be there and wired Reg for photos for the paper. He tells me that we were caught ~~XXXXXXXX~~ unawares. The only ~~XXXXX~~ factor that made we think we might not be there was the extreme weakness of our forces. I thought that perhaps we would not be able to get enough comrades out what with shift difficulties etc.

It was good to receive your letter and all the background that it sketched in but I gathered from your remarks that we did not participate not because we were caught unawares but because we ~~WXXX~~ "could not take part in placing a picket line against workmen who had not been consulted" You go on further to state that "will watch the situation very closely and be ready to participate directly if a local strike takes place."

I suppose now that the whole fight has collapsed that this is all so much water under the bridge but I would like to make a few remarks and see what you think of them. Possibly there will be future incidents of this kind and a ~~XXX~~ discussion even if inconclusive would be valuable. The P.C. has not taken the matter up at all.

In my opinion we are obliged to participate in such actions or when necessary carry the ball ourselves regardless of the role of the trade unions..... that is if our forces permit us to do so.

Let us take for ~~ANY~~ example the Isleandia incident here in 1940 - not a year ago. We made an appeal to the trade unions ~~and~~ fraternal and political organizations of the workers to protest the managements refusal to let in ~~any~~ Jewish and Negro youths. We called upon the unions to set up a anti-discrimination committee ~~any~~, notified them that we were going to picket the place and asked them to join us. The trade unions ~~any~~ remained apathetic. We did not receive as much as a reply from any organization whatsoever. Aside from ourselves the Stalinist youth organizations were the only ones to participate in any protest action. ~~any~~ Despite the passivity of the trade unions and the workers as a whole we went ahead with our plans picketed the place on two occasions and ~~any~~ with the aid of the Stalinists cut attendance to the rink almost to nil and forced the owner to change his policy. Subsequently the city council passed a by law refusing licenses to discriminatory establishments. On top of this we gained considerably publicity for the party as a fighting organization and created quite an impression on many of the Stalinist youth on the picket line.

There is of course no question about it... ~~any~~ every thing possible must be done to involve the mass organizations of the workers in such struggles. Not only to make the struggle effective but to educate the workers about their leadership and teach them ~~any~~ that we are the best fighters for their interests and our party is worthy of their adherence. But if the trade union bureaucracy ~~any~~ violently opposes any action and supports the government, the CCF crawls out from under the fight and the Stalinists weaken it ~~any~~ and sow confusion by their false tactics, what are we to do.

Certainly our comrades in the various union locals in any of the mass organizations of the ~~any~~ workers would struggle against the betrayals of the traditional working class leaders. You can struggle against them however only when you have a plan of action yourself. The relationship of forces of course would determine this plan of action in all its details but basically we understand and are agreed on the need to fight against the arms shipment.

Suppose the T.U.s are passive, even that the leadership is violently opposed to any action and the membership is confused and disoriented....are we to just go along after having said our piece. On some occasion we may be compelled to do so because of our own weakness of forces or the total confusion apathy or even opposition of the workers (World War II) and have to remain content of make the record.

However in this arms demonstration from all the reports including those from our own comrades sections of the most advanced workers went into action. We may disagree with their failure to make it a real mass action but the LLoF Y and other Stalinist outfits were there including the CCF. The only political tendency that was missing was ourselves who incidentally are the only genuine opponents of Chiang and World War III.

I do not see any harm in putting up a picket line " against

workmen who had not been consulted". It seems to me that the picket and its placards are essentially a form of consultation. This of course does not mean that I agree with the whole manner of the conduct of the affair. We would of course try to get a translator and explain the situation to all and sundry. But a picket line and signs is certainly part of such work.

To have won the seamen to the side of the picket would ~~MAX~~ constitute the real success of the demonstration and we ~~we~~ would do everything possible to do so. But if we were unable for any number of reasons to make a dint in their ranks even if the union publicly opposed the picket and ordered its members through the picket would in my opinion be a good and necessary thing and we would do everything possible to put up a strong one. to publicize the war danger etc.

I do not see that we have to always wait on the trade unions. The political party has a role to play. The RWP on the picket line would be an invaluable aid to a comrade who was carrying on the fight in his local for union support of the picket. Our action would offer a real opportunity to the militants who in this case were not able to win over the local against ~~the Moshers and Coy.~~ Moshers and Coy. We lost in our local but we can still do our duty to the international working class and the fight against war even on a limited scale. Why here are a group of men and women who are really serious about these Trotskyists. So this worker will be able to go back into the next fight against Moshers and Coy with the knowledge that ~~these~~ these talkers are also men of action, that there is a force that is prepared to carry the fight out despite Moshers

Is there to be no struggle outside the unions. Are all actions to cease until we win a majority in the trade unions. Is the party always doomed to tail along and only coordinate the line that various comrades in the unions are to put forth. Yes we have to work in the unions but there is nothing sacred about them. We have to whenever the opportunity permits try to move off the plain of merely debating opponents of the trade union leadership

(ends)

Ref: Letter of Jan 20 to Reg(?) Found in 1948 - Feb(?) Jan

Dear Reg;

I see no reason why Bill should not see this letter.

Have received a reply from Angus to the letter of the 20th. He agrees with line of action outlined. Have had no word from Montreal which appears to be in a bit of a dither with new recruits. Their silence I am quite sure signifies agreement. I think, as a matter of fact I am quite sure that the letter could be well considered an instruction to the branch. The only reason why I have not written to the branch is because it is not formal yet. If you and Bill are in agreement I think we should go ahead as outlined. The sooner the better I agree with Angus who says---~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ "This break if break there must be, must come quickly and cleanly before the affair contaminates the entire branch. The branch must even increase its activities during the next period"

Propose to put the document(the charges)in the bulletin if you can let me have it. As a matter of fact it would be well for the future education of the party that some one of you prepare a document on the significance of the experience, wahts behind it etc. For Agus "the factors still don't add up".

will write later...hope we can write this off soon

warmest regards

Ross

7 BC-

Final in 1948 - Jan.

Dear Reg-----

I was just going over this letter for corrections when I received a letter from Bill with ~~XX~~ a copy of a ~~letter~~ letter that he sent to Angus. I have not yet had a chance to give it any real serious thought.

I am somewhat taken aback from Stan's request for leave of ~~XXXXXX~~ absence, and Bill's comment that we are now retrenching...giving up the headquarters.

My impression is that it has all been quite a blow to Bill, Stan's request may have serious effects on Frank...I am wondering what will happen to Court.

I know that you must be laboring under considerable difficulties but I am sure that you Ruth, Ellaline, Bill, I'd can rally Frank ~~XX~~ Charley ~~XX~~ Cort. and that we can hold the group together so that under more favourable conditions it will be able to go forward again. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ I am sure that we can come out of this unfortunate situation with solid and steeled ranks if our good core reacts quickly and shows the proper confidence and ability to carry on.

I hope we do not drop the headquarters at once. Give us a chance to talk it over and assess our strength.

Will write tomorrow

with the firmest conviction that we do not need to retrench ~~and~~ that we can hold the group


Ross

Lean of us and the world party

February 13 1948

S.W.P.
National Office

Dear Comrades

Thank you for your very kind invitation to send a representative to the coming plenum.

We have been following the preparatory documents, particularly those dealing with the Wallace question, with considerable interest and would certainly like to have a comrade in attendance. However we do not feel we are in a position at this time to arrange representation.

Our present financial condition makes it very difficult to make the necessary outlay of funds. This same condition has compelled to cut our staff down to one full time functionary. Since he would at this time appear to be the only comrade in a position to go we feel that we cannot spare his services for the length of time of the sessions.

We hope however that you will convey our greetings to the assembled plenum.

In the past month we have received a considerable number of documents from EKM overseas. Some of them we feel are extremely important for the education of our membership in preparation for the conference. We are wondering if you would inform us if you are planning to publish any of them and if so what ones. Perhaps we could reach some agreement to share the publication of the more important ones. We could not handle many but would like to publish some of the material. We are thinking particularly of the Statutes and EKM the report of the Fourth since the war.

comradely

Ross Dowson

February 19 1945

Dear Reg;

I see that it is almost a month since I heard from you and I guess it is a considerable time longer since you have heard from me. I hope you have not been waiting for me to pick up your letters. For the next period I am afraid you are going to have to write me far more often than I you. I am having one hell of a time trying to keep up with everything. I no sooner had the last issue of the paper off my hands (mistakes and all) when of course I inherit a whole pile of material that was piling up when I was busy with the paper. Ever since then I have been wading through all the accumulated material. I have been trying to keep the comrades out of the office even though their help would be valuable so that we can handle the pile of renewals that are coming up with each issue. At the same time the Toronto comrades are putting on a limited membership drive. They hope to pull a couple of good people into the party and are going through the contact list with a fine tooth comb. On top of this two of our comrades are playing a prominent role in the UE strike at Rogers Electric here and Paddy is completely tied up in his local what with the coming CCL Ontario Convention etc. You can see everything is going along great guns.

I hope you received the batch of I.S. Internal Bulletins that I forwarded you a few weeks ago via airmail. There are two more to come but the only copies are in Murray's hands in Montreal. So far I have been only able to read three of them myself plus the one on the Russian question that appeared in the Fourth International. What do Tom & Lloyd think of them? I am particularly interested to know your opinion of the Russian document. We intend to discuss it at the next P.C. meeting when we can get Paddy clear of the union for a while. My impression is that ~~XXX~~ while generally politically sound, philosophically it is very loose and in this sense tends to lean over too much towards the revisionists...it tends to straddle the question as its formulations are not very sharp.

Have written the SWP to see if they intend to publish any of them and if so what ones. I certainly think the Statutes and the report of the 4th should be published and if they do not intend to do so I think we should try to rally our forces to do so. Will you send the bulletins back as soon as you three have gone through them as I would like to make a switch with you and Murray and send some to Angus.

In a recent letter Byron Johnson suggests that I should take up the matter of Town Meetings that are held in Vancouver ~~KIKIKYON~~. He thinks that it is possible to have one of our comrades speak there. What do you think ?? From reports in the CCF News I gather that they often discuss matters of real importance and they appear to draw a considerable number of speakers from the CCF. He suggests you as a speaker.

I have just sent Elaine another batch of expirations. I sent her the letter dealing with the problem and asked her to turn it over to you at the next meeting. ~~XXX~~ The Toronto comrades have been turning up some people who look like party material. I took time out to see one of them last night...a ne~~B~~ who was in the CP in 1935. He was very friendly, gave as a donation of a couple of dollars and promised to try to make some of the forums. His wife is a real militant. Most of the names we have just put aside until we get further on with the ren-

equal work. Hope that the comrades are really grabbing hold of this work. Have not heard much from Elaine however there is a letter in here addressed to Paddy which might be from her. I am waiting till he gets around to open up.

We have badly missed the minutes of the branch meetings that you used to send us. No doubt you are very busy, all the more so that you are now crammed into your folks' home. I was almost ~~blinded~~ ^{blinded} over ~~xxx~~ when I picked up the last issue of the B.C. Lumberworker and read the vicious attacks that the Stalinists have ~~levelled~~ levelled against Lloyd and the slate that he is on. I would like very much to get a picture of the character of the caucus that we appear to be in. What is its program? Or are we on a ticket with Alsbury. I notice that the Stalinists try to lump us together with Alsbury and Mitchell but when they have to be more specific they drop Lloyd out of the trinity. Lloyd did quite well in his local. Is there any literature around?

At the next meeting of the N. . members I wonder if you would take up the matter of the B.C. correspondent. I actually do not know what to say about Whitney. I know that he is very busy and all that but he just does not answer mail. This is much more serious actually than whether he was able to write or not write for the paper due to other pressure. Prior to going to press with the last issue I sent him an air-mail letter asking him if he could write an article on the situation in the IWA or on the coal miners strike. I asked him if he was unable to do so to immediately send me a letter via air mail telling me so....this would give me an opportunity to look elsewhere for material. If he could handle either one I told him not to bother replying to the letter but to mail the article to reach here by a certain date. We received no reply, kept expecting to receive the article and of course left space open for it...it never came. You can see that this situation puts the editor under greater strain than if we could expect nothing from the Coast for that issue. When Whitney does a job he does a very good one but to put out a paper you have to have a disciplined staff. While Borland did not have the political ~~experience~~ experience of Whitney he was more reliable and ~~with~~ that he could develop ~~into~~ something. Perhaps all Bill needs is a little shot in the arm from you. Or if his work is such perhaps we have someone else who can take the job on.

We received a book order from a O.A. Eliason, Box 853, Cranbrook, B.C. This time for Revolution Betrayed and In Defence of Marxism. I gather from this he must be a serious type. He has no sub but has ordered books previously. We have no one living near him unless Hoakes gets over there. You might put him on the itinerary of our proposed B.C. tour

There has been no word of the Freedom Train idea down here. As a matter of fact your remarks are the first I have seen on the subject. I suppose you knew that the CCL Coordinating committee met here in Toronto a few days ago. They held the white flag out again to the government hoping for a price roll back. The steelworkers have already undercut their demands by settling for 10 cents at International Harvester. The U. U. bureaucracy is hoping that the wage struggle will be broken on price cuts or unemployment. I suppose you read about the Rogers strike here. This is our sole point of concentration...we have two comrades in this strike, both stewards and picket captains. Of course the Stalinists dominate the strike and are playing a very cowardly role but our two comrades are gaining considerable prestige. They have a couple of good contacts who are reading our literature., one has attended some forum and we hope to get a couple of new members into the party.

How did the discussion go on the Clairmont incident?

How did the comrades like the last issue of the paper? That is aside from the typographical errors which are all my fault and result from the fact that the print shop is a ~~badly~~ managed one and proofs are received always at the last moment when the press is waiting etc. I think our job on the Communist Manifesto is better than the Militants. There is a lot more guts in it of course since it is a monthly but we tried to keep the appearance of a newsy paper.

Speaking of the Communist Manifesto. Is the branch intending to hold a public meeting on the centenary? I do not think our past experiences with mass meetings should deter us. We have to hold open meetings in the name of the party to keep alive. It is extremely difficult to recruit persons who are already very close to us if as a party we do not have some open party life. I think too that we are obliged to hold a meeting to honour this event. The Toronto branch did not hold theirs yet as they are planning to hold the same meeting a week or so later in Hamilton sometime in March. At present the branch holds a forum and a study class alternate Sunday evenings. What is the situation with a headquarters? It is still very bad here. The Branch has been looking for larger space with out success. **22** Is it not possible to hold a class in someone's home for the next two months to tie up some of the work that the comrades have been doing this past fall and winter.

hoping to hear from you very shortly

comradely



Ross Dowson

June 7 1948

Dear Reg;

Just a short note to let you know the score on the coming issue of the paper. We are publishing a mid-June issue and are then going on a monthly schedule for the summer months of July and August. The July and August issues will be published in the mid month. We need the money saving and also a little rest. I do not think anyone will look askance at this as it is quite comonly done by other papers and magazines much ~~as~~ I don't like to see us do it.

I have just come from the printers ~~XX~~ and the arrangeent of the printing of this ussue. As you can see the Friday which we usuallly get the paper off on is the 11th. This is rather early particularly as we do not go to press again for another month ...so I have arranged with him to have most of the copy in by that Friday but run off the paper on the Monday and Tuesday following. That means that we would like to have the copy form B.C. on the Saturday which would give us Sunday to get it and other last minute stuff ready for the printer. If it is not humanely possible to get the copy here by Saturday morning mail we might manage to handle it if it reached us by Monday morning. I do not like to give you Monday however as we have a lot of work here to do ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ on that day without being cluttered up with last minute material..... hope you can handle something.

You~~XX~~ will have noted that we did as good a job on the IWA as we could from the B.C. press in the last issue under trade union notes. We were more or less compelled to do a job on it as our paper badly needs trade union material to round it out. While the company demand for a bond may have only been sparring it is ^{an} important indication of the company tactics coupled as it is with the legal assault on the union leadership being led off by Smith and Osberg. Perhaps the use of this material badly cuts into your plans for this issues article on the IWA. I hope not as we have a place for an IWA article. Perhaps you will only need about three pages in the light of the trade union note in the last issue.

The ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Van Labor Council action on the Labor Relations Borad sounds like a very good item for an editorial as you suggest. This is the first that I have heard of it. I have just glanced at our B.C. CCF News file and am suprised to see that we do not have any issue later than May ~~XX~~.20 th yet. Perhaps the floods have ^{filled} up our copies. Would appreciate it if some one there could write up an editorial on this and send us the news item along with it.

Normally I would say that the B.C. CCF convention would be first rate material ^{for} an article on the CCF. CCFers here look to the B.C. CCF as the left. However we will be devoting considerable space in this issue on an analysis ^{of} the Ontario and the By elections and this is probably enough for the CCF in one issue. When is the convention? I cannot find a date in the last CCF News. ~~IXX~~ suppose the mid-July issue would be no good for a convention analysis as it would be a month old. If this is so then if there is really anything interesting we should carry it anyway in this issue. Would ~~be~~ particularly interested if there is any sign of a left wing or any opposition to the leadership.

We will be carrying an extensive article on the G.M. sliding scale ^{contract} in the coming issue. It has created considerable interest in the sliding scale. If you can get the material on the milk drivers it would be very good for about a one page box.

Comradely


Ross

Found in 1948 - "June 10"

June 10th Van News Herald Vancouver's M.P.-Elect A Communist?

Early in the Vancouver-Centre election campaign, local communists who take their marching orders from Moscow accused Rod Young, now M.P.-Elect for Vancouver Centre of being a Trotskyite.

Addressing the House of Commons Tuesday night, A. L. Smith, Progressive-Conservative from Calgary West, made the charge that Rod Young is an out-and-out communist of the rabid Trotsky school.

The charge was tacitly confirmed by Dorothy Steeves, provincial president of the C.C.F. Mrs. Steeves side-

stepped the direct question whether Mr. Young is a communist. She merely denied that he is a pro-Stalinist.

Colin Cameron also hedged on the subject. He said that Mr. Young is a strong opponent of communist fellow travellers. That may well be true. But Mr. Cameron did not assert that Mr. Young is a strong opponent of rabid Trotsky-Marxian teaching.

The gradations of leftist totalitarianism, it seems, can be worked out to a fine point. But they are rather overwhelming, to say the least, to perturbed and unenlightened souls outside intelligensian circles.

(Unsigned but in R.D.'s correspondence file)

July 8 1948

Dear Reg;

Received your letter of the 3rd and am rushing off this short note to let you know that we require the Vancouver material just as soon as you can get it to us. The deadline is Monday or at the latest Tuesday. Possibly this is no surprise to you as I see from the July 3 letter that you are already lining up two articles. Hope you can get them here in time. We have left space for both an article on the IWA and also one on the floods.

With regards to your comments on the last letter and the Stange development. As Cannon said in a recent speech on the Wallace question which was published in a recent bulletin that was sent out, there are somethings that we absolutely ~~positively~~ experience along with the workers. On many questions we state our position to the workers and if its is rejected we go along with them maintaining our position but going along with them confident that they will see that we are correct in the development of events. But sometimes we just cannot go along with them...when it involves a principle. There is no doubt in my mind that participation in the capitalist state apparatus is one experience which we refuse to go along with the workers...this is a principle.

This was clear on our position on the last war. We told the workers that it was a capitalist war which they could not support in anyway whatsoever. And we did not support it in any way from beginning to end. The CCF made a statement of opposition of a type and then promptly said realism demands that we support it. They took the same line on the recent Prices Committee at Ottawa. Coldwell properly exposed its purpose. Threatened that they would boycott it. But when it was once set up they promptly sent their representatives to it and participated and subsequently became the most responsible for its criminal purpose. Realism demanded it said Coldwell. We called for boycott in the pages of LC. Our position and Coldwell's were the difference between revolutionary class politics and petty bourgeois politics...class collaboration.

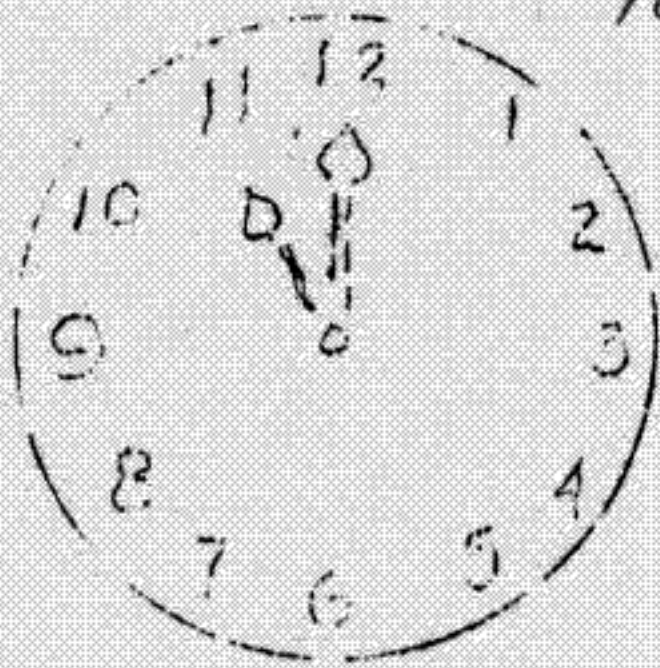
All during the war the Militant in issue after issue demanded labor ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ force the trade union bureaucrats to get off the Labor Boards. We did the same in Labor Challenge. We called for the by-passing of the boards to launch the strike wave of 1945-6. It is not a tactical question but a principled question and it is only by such a line that the class independence of the workers can be preserved and extended.

While I call for boycott you say we need a substitute. I am not exactly clear what you propose as a substitute but I think it is this. That instead of Mosher appointing the labor rep the trades council should do so and that the rep is committed to the council's program. It is merely a question of who should do the appointing. In other words it doesn't assert in any sense an opposition to class collaboration. It just wants to state who will do it. Frankly I prefer that given the present relationship of forces Mosher should do it as it aids us in the fight against the bureaucracy. However possibly you mean that the entire Labor Board that will interpret and enforce the law should be under labor's control and appointment and that despite the fact that the capitalist class rule they should function on the basis of the councils program. This seems to me to be completely ludicrous. It is calling for the revolution in a fantastically disguised manner. It is necessary for us to explain to the workers that the capitalist state apparatus must be destroyed.. that it cannot be used by the workers for their purpose. We make our demands on it in order to rally the workers to struggle and expose it. To me it seems that the boycott is much better understood by the workers than this tactic which will only appear as absurd to most workers.

Boycott it . Is this unrealistic? You take up the fight against Bill 39...demand its repeal, advocate bypassing its provisions. "So far so good, but where in hell do we go from here. Certainly we do so and so but what do we propose a substitute?" "There are no elections coming up and the revolution is not ripe." Yes, when the elections were on we call for the ditching of the Coalition and the election of the CCF. This is only another and political form of demanding its removal from the statutes. Now it seems to me that all we can do is patiently tell the workers that they must prepare their forces to do frontal battle with the law, prepare to by-pass all its provisions, and destroy it in mass action. You may say that the mass actions are not now realizable....true but ~~XXXXX~~ we and our agitation has an important rôle to make them realizable in the future. Our task now is to tell the workers that they have to defy the law and those who would enforce it...the police the entire capitalist state apparatus. After all this is how revolutionists differ from reformists. We tell the workers that nothing is won except by struggle by their own mass strength.

(ends)

Found in 1948 - Summer



TIME
FOR

ACTION

Three hundred and fifty Steelworkers have been on strike for four weeks --- their members have been dragged into Court --- fines hang over their heads.

Hundreds of Packinghouse Workers, Furniture Workers, Marine Workers now on strike face the same penalization.

The Street Railwaymen have negotiated for months and the only answer of the B.C.E.R. is that they must raise fares on their jalopies if they are to consider wage increases.

FINES ---- LITIGATION ---- ARBITRATION --- CONCILIATION and dragged out methods of negotiation are designed to dishearten and discourage the workers.

The notorious fascist legislation, "Bill 39", is being used by the Bosses and the Boss's Government to thwart the workers from gaining their just demands.

They are sitting back to exhaust the workers through litigation, persecution, starvation and poverty.

This puts the issue squarely up to the workers who are not directly involved to come to the aid of their embattled brothers. If they lose, we all lose!

FORCE THE BOSSES TO COME TO TERMS!

Workers in all unions: Demand that your leaders call a joint conference of AFL, CCL and all legitimate independent unions. Call for a 24 hour general strike to bring the bosses to time.

A 24 HOUR GENERAL STRIKE

WILL SHOW THE BOSSES THAT

ORGANIZED LABOR MEANS BUSINESS

DEMAND the IMMEDIATE
REPEAL of "BILL 39"

Issued by the B.C. District Organizing Committee,
Revolutionary Workers Party -- 3356 West 15th. Ave. Vanc. B.C.

August 4 1948

(1948)

Dear Reg;

I have just sent off in the mail copies of various trade union resolutions that the American party has adopted on different occasions. What with the last SWP resolution that I sent you I think you will now have a good idea of the general character of the resolution that we require on the trade union question. Could you read and study them and then let Tom and Lloyd do the same. Then it would be advisable to call a meeting and to outline the draft of the resolution appointing someone to do the first writing, or if necessary breaking it down and each of you writing parts of it. This later suggestion is not a good idea if we can possibly help it. After the first writing it would be best to get together again and polish the document up making any necessary corrections. When you ship the document here for mimeographing would you be sure to send this batch of SWP trade union resolutions back with it. I want to keep them on the files. I hope you can get it here in good time.

^{story}
The H.R. MacMillan story (Kirkland Island) comes from the Pacific Tribune of some issues back. I thought I mentioned that this ~~XXXXX~~ would be one of the good anecdotes for Ruth's story when we suggested that we carry one on the floods. The ~~XXXX~~ story may be a fabrication but I am doubtful. The story is by Hal Griffin and appears in June 18 issue. It is supposed to be "down Ladner way". No one has written into the paper about it.

I hope you have a subscription to the Pacific Tribune and the CCF News. If you haven't the branch should buy you one. And of course when we get a headquarters we can put it up in the reading room corner. Did you see the July 23 issue of the Tribune. On page 9 Mickleburgh writes "Simultaneously elections being held in southern Oregon's District Six are registering a repudiation of the Trotskyite former International Secretary E Benedict who went in there to do a job for Fadling." In the July 16th issue page 9 "Locals 1-71, 1-85, and 1-217 have demanded his resignation (Fadlings) (Story on the job is that only three Trotskyites, two of whom had been expelled from the CCF could be found to vote for Fadling in the big Vancouver sawmill local.)"

So ~~there~~ there is no question in my mind that the B.C. article for this issue must be on the IWA situation and our ~~XXXX~~ policy. As a matter of fact without this we should carry a story on the IWA retreat before the Coalition's charge that strike vote would be illegal. I have been following the B.C. Lumberworker and there is excellent material in it to expose the Stalinist fancy attempt to equate a strike vote with strike itself. The arguments that the leadership use for retreating with their tail between their legs are arguments not against a vote but ~~XXXXXX~~ against strike ~~XXXXXX~~. This is a traitorous act when they are in the midst of negotiations. The arguments that they use can only further weaken the union in negotiations. In fact they state in so many words that there can be no strike because the IWA stands alone in the wage battle at this time. A nice assurance for the bosses. What a joke. One of the most powerful unions in Canada cannot go on strike because none of the others are out. The July 28 issue of the Lumberworker has just come in and there are notes from various locals in it calling for the strike vote.

This article will provide us with a real opportunity to address the militants in the IWA and to expose the strike breaking role of the Stalinist leadership. We should also state our position clearly on Fadling. Unfortunately we are not going to have much room in this issue again as we are carrying the wind-up of the Manifesto but I think that the story is so important that we can afford 5 to 6 pages if necessary. I think it should be a joint effort but ~~XXXX~~ take up the idea that Lloyd should sign it. We have a cut of him and after all he and Tom are known as Trotskyists and

(metaphoto)

-3-

I am ~~sure~~ that there are many workers anxious to know just ^{what} Lloyd's (the Trotskyists) position is.

It would be very good if we could find some way of getting copies up into the camps. Let me know if you want extra copies for distribution.

~~XXXXX~~ We want all copy to be in via the morning mail of August 9th. This should give a full week end to work on it. ~~XXXXX~~ If the article is dropped in a central box ~~XXXXX~~ Sunday night we should get it by Monday noon I suppose. That will be alright.

Will send the bundle out to you till further notice. How are we coming with the Postal Box or better still with a headquarters? We are starting to look again for a large place here. I am hoping that all the building that has been going on has eased the situation up a little.

Comrade Habbe has arrived in town and has got a job at ~~XXXXX~~ Swifts. We are all favourably impressed and are expecting big things. He has managed to build up a concentrator that we have commenced in the U.P.W. Two other comrades have recently managed to get into Canada Packers. Both plants are together and ~~XXXXX~~ the locals have a joint council. The Packinghouse Workers union appears to be a very favourable field for us. We already have two or three contacts and from all reports, the internal situation in the union is in flux. The Stalinists and CCF are both influential but neither force controls the situation.

comradely

Ross

The work of the members of our party in the Trade Unions ~~has~~ based mainly on the demands of the Transitional Program has resulted in winning the confidence of a great many workers in the unions of which they are members.

In British Columbia through persistent and steady work they were able to force the right wing Bureaucracy ^(of the I.W.A.) to set up a Trade Union Committee, in which they held all the leading posts. Comrade Bradley was appointed Provincial Trade Union Organizer, and for a year travelled all over the province setting up trade union committees among the clubs, and in this capacity was able to do some very valuable work making establishing many contacts for our party, the benefits of which will be realized in the coming period; already this work has borne fruit by the many enquiries of workers regarding the formation of a new Revolutionary Party which was made by our LEADING comrades in B.C. in their principled break with the C.C.F. Comrade Whalen who is the fraction leader in the I.W.A. has after a lot of hard and consistent work built around himself a powerful opposition to the Stalinist leadership in that union.

During the recent Lumber Workers Strike he was Captain of all the pickets in ~~the~~ Vancouver and District, and with other comrades ~~tasked~~ took an active part in the winning of the strike, at the same time recruiting some new members to the party, he was elected as a delegate to the I.W.A. Convention, ~~by a large~~ ^{is} vote and also to the C.C.L. Convention by a large vote of the membership. The possibilities of working in this field alone ~~has~~ untold, and the prospects for recruits to the party look very promising.

Comrade Bulloch who is on the negotiating committee of the Boilermakers Union is doing very effective work in that local.

In Prince Rupert where a party unit was organized two years ago by comrade Stanton excellent work was accomplished especially in the Boilermakers Union where all the comrades held official positions and also on the local Labor Council; They also secured many subscribers to Labor Challenge. With the cessation of the war the Dry Dock closed down, so the comrades transferred their activities to the Fishing

Industry and are now active members of the Fishery and Cannery Workers Union, where they have quite a lot of influence. Comrade ~~Angus~~ Macphee who was formerly Sec-Treas. of the Boilermakers Union is now on the Locals negotiating committee; quite recently he ~~has~~ defeated the Stalinist sec-treas. of the union as delegate to the local Trades and Labor Council. The fishing industry is one of the basic industries of B.C. and ~~the~~ employs thousands of workers the great majority of whom are organized, the union is under Stalinist control, already we have some of our members in this important industry, and with correct work and policy we can extend our influence ^{win} and great numbers of these workers to our party.

Comrade Bill White who was formerly Vice -President of the Prince Rupert Boilermakers Union transferred his activities to the ~~mt~~ Mining Industry and located at Britannia Beach and became a member of the I.U.M.M.&S.W. and during the present strike was elected Chairman of the Locals Strike Committee and also ^{to} the Wage Negotiating Committee. Comrade White has secured many new subscribers to Labor Challenge and purchased literature for the Union reading room. Here we have another vast field to work in as this industry also employs large numbers of workers.

In Toronto The majority of the members of the party are members of the trade unions And a trade union fraction has been set up to coordinate the ^{the} activities, ~~some~~ one comrade is on the Editorial Board of his Local Union paper and is in a very good position to put over our trade union policy. In the Massey-Harris Local # 439 Of U.A.W.-C.I.O. we have four of our members and at the last general meeting of the union they submitted six resolutions to presented at the C.C.L. Convention all the resolutions were adopted by the meeting. The local is controlled by the Stalinists and during the recent wage negotiations they capitulated to the bosses and by a ruse got the members to accept the ten cents an hour offered by the company, there is lots of dissatisfaction among the rank and file over the sellout, and the prospects of organizing a healthy opposition to them is very favorable.

In the Province of Quebec we were able to register a major gain where Comrade **BEDARD** led the fight against Marquette who as Regional Director tried to use his office to spit the Canadian Congress Unions, Comrade Bedard instantly went into action

(37)

and mobilized the best elements in the Montreal labor movement around him and carried the fight to Marquette exposing him to the workers as an agent of the bosses, and was instrumental in saving the workers involved for the legitimate trade union movement, as a result of his work the Congress appointed him to the post of Regional Director, we must give comrade Bedard every assistance to carry on his work and at the same time lay the base for our party among the French Canadian Workers.

In summing up our past activities and accomplishments during the past two years, since we reconstituted the party here in Canada, we can be assured that if we continue to carry on our work in a centralized manner that the gains we have made in the past will be slight to those we can make in the future, only by hard and constructive work done in an organized manner can our efforts succeed, distribution of the party press ~~will~~ at factory gates will facilitate and make easier the work of our trade union fractions and break the ground for the winning of large numbers of the workers to our party, the Party of the Socialist Revolution The Canadian Section of the Fourth International.

*1946

1948 Ross Dowson – Speech notes on Leon Trotsky’s book “Problems of Life” (1924, Methuen)

Transcription from speech notes to the R.W.P., Toronto (notes & transitions by the editors; bolding by the author)

Twenty-four years ago Leon Trotsky whose memory we are paying tribute to tonight wrote a book called “Problems of Life.” It dealt with social and cultural problems confronting the newly formed workers’ republic (*the USSR, 'Soviet Russia,' 1917-1989*). It shows Trotsky as a creative influence constructing a new life. It was written against those who thought they could legislate the new order into being – outside of the initiative and development of the masses.

“Quote,” *quotation from book not specified-ed.*) According to Trotsky then – those who want to participate in the construction of life – who want to find the necessary perspective for the splinters of the past and the embryos of the future – THEY MUST know WHAT EXISTS.

Does what exists give any hope for the future? Are there any elements in this complex world scene that are capable of development – that show promise for the socialist future of mankind? Trotsky, whose 40-odd years of political life was witness of great mass revolutionary struggles and a claim – (*to have played a central role in one*) and in turn (*experiencing*) years of defeat, persecution and isolation. Trotsky the revolutionist never once doubted the socialist future of mankind -- never once doubted that the forces of the socialist society which would lift mankind to undreamed of pinnacles of construction and creation were preparing themselves – in their own way, devious, sometimes bursting out in spectacular brilliance, stewing, bubbling –

What exists – what is the reality that confronts us. There is no question that we are living in the most momentous period in world history. One of those periods in history which is wracked by the birth pains of a new (society) and the death throes of an old society. A period when every month sees world-shaking developments – no period in world history has seen such vast accumulations of wealth beside such horrifying poverty. No period in history has seen such an epoch-making discovery as atomic physics and its subversion to the manufacture of implements of destruction; vast armies, navies and armed forces of all kinds confronting one another in such violence and conflict on a world scale; such crises in governments; such instability and insecurity for the masses of the population.

It is inevitable in such a period of crises that there should be wide confusion. All the forces are interlocked in struggle like wrestlers – easy to mistakenly identify this one’s leg with that one’s body. The most striking factor in world affairs is the absolutely dominant role that America plays – American monopoly not only dominates the richest half of the North American continent and the lives of its millions of people but has its tentacles around the entire North and South American continent. Not satisfied with this empire, the like of which was never seen before, the American capitalists have their fingers into every part of the globe.

All Roads lead to Rome. All lead to Wall Street and Washington. Through ERP (*the U.S.-inspired European Reconstruction Plan, or Marshall Plan –ed.*) (governing world food supply) it will be decided who will eat and who will not – through control of the atom bomb , which hangs over all conference tables and governs diplomacy – through control of capital and capital goods (*where* is decided) the development of the world economy. Nowhere from the arid desert lands of Tibet to the steaming jungles of the Orinoco can any ruling group, clique or class or social body lift a finger without considering Wall Street: the Greek Monarchy, Turkish feudal lords, the De Gasperi liberals, the Chiang Kai Shek regime, the Brazilian government. Those that are not directly dependent, all look to American capitalism for aid (the Allied victors, Canada, Britain – and all the vanquished.)

(As for) the ERP and Canada: conscious of the key position they hold, Wall Street diplomats conduct themselves like gangsters before the startled British and French ministries: Marshall in Italy, Forrestal in France, Clay in Germany.

Forrestal (the US Defence Secretary) on a golf green at Ottawa decides Canada's role in Wall Street military setup. Hofman (ERP director) under the auspices of Cripps supervises British industry. In the critical situation in Germany the American Big Brass threaten momentarily to thrust the world into war – and ditch the plan to turn Germany into a pastoral state. Now in mad drive to break up Germany despite the opposition of the German peoples – (Washington is) carrying out their divisive aim into the city of Berlin (creating) a Soviet zone.

They went ahead with their plans to introduce a new currency fully aware of the fact that it would upset the entire economy of Germany – what with the drastic blockade imposed by the Soviet bureaucrats, hundreds of thousands of workers are unemployed and face starvation. Over the bodies of the German people Wall Street comes into head-on conflict with the USSR – second greatest world power. The Soviet Union, its wealth shut off from US imperialist control and its citizens not subject to its exploitation – is the one country that stands up against American imperialism.

If, as the ‘Manifesto of the Fourth International (*Against Wall Street and the Kremlin,*” 1948) states – the historical justification of the October Revolution is still required, suffice it to compare the fate of Russia with that of China. The superiority of the planned economy, the superiority of the new social relations as compared to that of the capitalist countries (*is proven.*) History of course has also shown that degeneration and reaction have grown to a fearful extent (*in the USSR*). Trotskyists have said much about the internal rot that eats away and weakens the Soviet economy.

Stalin (*represents the*) historical by-product of the isolation of the October Revolution and the pressure of world capitalism upon its economy – far from building a bulwark against Wall Street, (*Stalinism*) is leading the remnants of the October Revolution down the path of destruction. By its practices of dismantling, looting, deportation and terror, Stalin has roused even within the

labor movement feelings of hatred to the USSR that Hitler could never produce. His socialist conquests in Eastern Europe were in reality conceded to him by Roosevelt and Churchill. In exchange Stalin betrayed the Greek worker's movement – handed the French liberation to the Allies, and returned the tottering capitalist class to power in all Western Europe.

Confronted by the Stalinist bureaucracy and American imperialism, the Social Democrats' trade union bureaucrats, the Stalinists and the petty-bourgeois intellectuals stand in awe. According to these snivelling wretches, labor must choose between these two powers and of course they choose Wall Street – hoping and wishing in their fear that Wall Street will deal with them benevolently. They close their eyes to Wall Street's role in the world arena: the Marshall Plan, and in Canada's own self-interest, the ERP. Here they reveal their true class character – to save Canadian capitalism, and in their attitude toward Colonial Revolutions.

As if to remove the last possible illusion that anyone might have about Wall Street and progress – American capitalists have launched a wave of terror and violence against labor at home (Canada in its own image.) The Witch Hunt: the Senate and House Investigations, the Smith Gag Act (ironically against Stalinists); Taft-Hartley (anti-union legislation); the militarization of the economy and state apparatus. Is **Wall Street's** harsh and bitter rule in Europe and Asia – its vicious campaign against labor at home, **a sign of power and invincibility?** This is the way it impresses the Social Democrats and reformist trade union and political leaders. Not at all – it is a sign of her incredible insecurity. It rules the world but nothing can be done without US credits and armaments. Nowhere have her puppets any base; Leadership can be farmed out as in Canada to (*Prime Minister*) King; they have to be on the spot.

One significant purpose of ERP is to prop up the US economy from depression – the victory in World War II was hollow – there are no markets. The world is in hock with no possibilities on reclaiming itself. Stooges are threatened with revolution – as in Bogota (Columbia); Revolution suppressed here breaks out there, from Indonesia to Malaya, (throughout the) Colonial World; Britain attempts to find new forms for her domination – granting trusteeships, phoney independence, seeking to exploit in collaboration with native bourgeoisies – all these fail – too little, too late – and to crush US labor in order to thrust the cost of new world responsibilities upon workers, to ensure itself a safe base so it can carry out its ambitions.

For decades Stalinism spread its poison in the labor movement; it took over the Partisan (*anti-fascist resistance*) movement; it won the adherence of French, Italian and Greek workers – and those of Spain. It seems to be able to move from destruction to destruction unchallenged. Last month the Soviet Buffer Zone cracked down the middle (*in Yugoslavia*). At first it was looked upon as a superficial struggle between Stalin and Tito, but there were deeper roots. The (*Soviet*) Cominform attack was carried into the world Stalinist ranks. The Soviets cut off Yugoslavia from trade with other satellite countries. The Yugoslav CP with its independent base refused to recant; it dared to attack *Pravda* (*the infamous CPSU mouthpiece journal*); the Kremlin was no longer infallible; it took only a little altering of conditions; it took only one section of the bureaucracy to

have a little independence for the myth of Kremlin invincibility to be destroyed. Not the power of Wall Street and the Kremlin is the reality but the power of the working masses.

The entire Kremlin apparatus lashes out at little Yugoslavia which dared to question its right to dominate – is this a sign of power in the hands of the Kremlin? Is Wall Street's drive against US labor a sign of power—or a sign of intense internal contradictions that confront it at every turn? True, the real power in society is only beginning to feel its strength, to test it and try it out. But the fact that it is unconscious of its ability to settle all things doesn't negate the fact that its masters are conscious of it. Neither Wall Street nor the Kremlin bureaucracy make a move without assessing the workers.

The real power of Stalin lies in the material power of its apparatus combined with the revolutionary tradition of the past which it still represents in the eyes of the broad masses. This revolutionary capital of Stalinism is rapidly wearing off; with its cynical disregard and contempt for the workers, their feelings and integrity. (*Look at the Stalinist*) role in the French strike wave, in Italy. The disillusionment with Stalinism is one of the prime factors why the Social Democracy parties have taken on new strength in European countries. The Social Democracy is becoming Wall Street's base in labor; the crisis is too sharp – realignments (*are necessary, but*) there is no room for reformism; e.g., the British Labor Party and workers' control; the French and Italian Social Democratic youth splits; the trade union bureaucrats' attempt to transform the CIO.

Workers are goaded on by the high cost of living and the undermining of their civil rights which thrust them time and time again into militant struggle. There is no other way out. The task, as Trotsky outlined it, 'is to find the necessary perspective for the splinters of the past and the embryos of the future.' It is into this great historic drama that is taking place throughout the world that the Fourth International enters. **Its task:** To give aid and direction to all the strivings of the workers; to sharpen the consciousness of the masses to point the way to the socialist overthrowing of capitalism. Capitalism is providing all the objective prerequisites for the social revolution; it assembles the workers in the plants, compels their unionization (*into the CIO—the new, all-inclusive industrial unions—ed.*) ; compels their politicization.

In their recurring struggles as they come in conflict with Social Democratic and Stalinist leaderships – they will turn to the task of the creation of a new leadership. The embryo of this leadership, the embryo of the future, are the forces of the Fourth International. Trotsky understood the absolute necessity to create this leadership – a world leadership that is crystallizing around the central slogan of all power to the workers and poor farmers. True, this leadership is still in embryo, but already in dozens of countries its forces have met the most difficult and trying of tests; its martyrs are numerous. With each test its forces increase; with each test they gain skill and knowledge. Before the terror of Wall Street it has not buckled , for example our co-thinkers in the USA, the SWP (*Socialist Workers Party's presidential election campaign*). Under the hammer blows of Stalin its forces have become stronger. The forces of the Fourth International are confident in their future victory – not only because we are working with a most perfect political program; not only because we have built well and are sinking our roots

deep into the ranks of the workers; but above all because we are confident that the workers will in struggle prepare the forces which will finally usher in the new socialist world.

(end)

New York (New York)

October 8, 1949

Dear Ruth;

Thanks for impressing Sylvia that we have no room for the pamphlets up here. I shipped them on the other day with considerable relief...not just because we will have more room but fire is also a fear I have of this place.

With regards to the payment for them. I gather from Sylvia's last note that I was not to clear about it all. Would you talk it over with her with this information at hand;

Total agreed price was 155.00

That shipment that was just received (1500 copies) worth 77.50 since that has been received she should send me in the mail payment for it. I would think a check is ok

latest shipment (750 copies) to be paid for when arrives I think the bank would want this handled this way 38.75

mailed in small parcels to branches (750) worth 38.75 but to be credited to our Pioneer account

155.00

There is a sentence in her letter I do not understand; "The amount left after deducting \$38.75 will be 61.90." unless it means that we owed Pioneer the sum of \$100.65. and that the \$38.75 credit brings it down to 61.90. It is of course quite possible that we owed that amount as I have been very negligent with the account due to exchange difficulties and other work that has to be done.

I am enclosing a bank money order made out to Joe. Would you cash it, keep \$ for yourself (in payment for the mats you have made for us) and turn the other five over to Morris. to go to the IS.

As for Kitch-Bitch I suppose we can do without them for a while until Freddie manages to get around to them.

Thanks for the clippings for Barry. Don't know if we will be able to handle the article that you suggest in the issue as we are going to carry the IS statement of the Yugoslav crisis. I see you are carrying it in the P.I. The IS instructed us to do so, it's a big issue and a popular one so we are going ahead. Needless to say it takes a terrific section of the paper and we are going to be tight with other assignments.

Jean Laplante is Paul Kane. Haven't had anything from Montreal for at least 6 issues of the paper. The same with Vancouver. However this issue we had a ~~KWAK~~ barrage, one from each of them. This would be the issue of all issues when we get something. However we are going to carry them despite shortage of space...they are quite good.

You scored on the ~~XXXXXX~~ battle run around but I am not quite so willing to concede on the hot air. More heat applied to a bag of hot air makes it collapse or possibly a better word burst. I know I'll have to watch that stuff...the one about the CSU was really funny (in the previous issue)

My dear...slinter woodworkers union was absolutely intentional just like Green-backed Hall forces.

Now on the ~~XXX~~ headline type and other type chosen for the front page heads. I did what you complain about intentionally. I purposely did not want the Stalinists and the CSU article to take the page over despite the fact that we made it the headline. By the time that we wrote that and were circulating it the convention was well underway and towards the end of the month well into the past. I wanted to give it the top position because it was the best we had for that position at the same time I wanted to play it down. At the same time the CCL convention was the big issue. Delegates were being elected and motions sent to the convention when we were writing the paper and still when we were distributing it. I did not want to give it the top position as it was a feature type of article, not as sensational as the Stalinists and the CSU so I gave it bold type, made it stand out. Then it seemed to me that the CCF edit did not need bold head as it was prominent in the paper by the big slab it took up and its position on the page.

So what I tried to do was to editorialize the position of the articles and at the same time the weight of the type used. Is this not done. In my opinion to have given stronger type to the CSU together with its position on the page, the terrific photo would have made it the most prominent development in world affairs. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Next time you have a chance give us your opinion on this will you

The ~~XXX~~ ad...well it was the same old stuff. Rush rush rush. Ed and Bill were both away on holidays. Ralph was the only man on the stone. The CT was my mistake in so far as the abbreviations...saw the T and the fact that despite ~~XXXXXX~~ my request that they cut off the cent signs on some of the items they went through but I did not want to stop the presses as at that time it was touch and go as to whether we would get it off that week or the next. All the rest the comrades hear about in a special meeting we held last week to criticize the various contributions that had been coming in the last two or three issues.

This special meeting gave us a chance to have a real analysis of the contributions ...we don't have time as you will recall at the editorial meetings. I think it was very profitable.

On the CCF...I personally favor an immediate entry in Vancouver and very extensive fraction work in Toronto. We could carry on the paper and one comrades in Vancouver could stay outside to use the paper at the discretion of the branch. However the Vancouver branch is opposed to an entry, Murray favors an entrism orientation but must have a convention and prefers to wait till the spring the unfolding depression and its crystallization of the left currents. In view of the fact that this tactic is a difficult one and our cadres are not very experienced, even though it may mean a possible lost opportunity I think we will have to wait

Would like to take time out to give a real picture of recent developments but I dont think I can make it right now. Tell you what I will do ...have been getting hell for not ~~XXXXXX~~ sending Vancouver reports on waht is going on and have tried to meet this pressure by sending a letter to N.C. members of recent developments what one another thinks of my proposals etc. Will make and extra one out for you. Dont have any of the last ones around except file copies as I sent a set to the I.S.

warmest regards

Ross

Sunday Jan 5, 1951

My Dear Barry;

Do I detect a bit of alarm in your last two letters. You know me, when I cease to be a revolutionist I will be no more. You should know that all these feelings, the dis-ease, flow from my feeling that between you and I there should be nothing hidden, that our relationship should be of a character that will be commonplace only when man reaches communism.

Let's write off my "crisis" letter to you and Murray and your reply. Since you protest my feeling that you raised the old whipping-boy the Dowson personality I have no right to insist that you did. You would be the very last person to whom I would attribute any hostile motives. I know that you are full of good will to me, as full as I am too you. I am not much a psychology but I am of the opinion that attitude is only an extension into life of the personality. Organizational orientation--well that is something new, something I was not aware until the moment of reading your letter that we had any difference on. Sometime when you return you will have to elucidate. But let us call this part of the discussion off. I am prepared to say that my letter was a mistake...until we meet again.

I suppose you received my letter to Steve. Does it fit the bill. I think so but we will soon hear from him and know. It's the truth but of course not all the truth. Of course Joe (we should now say BS) and his antics aren't the reason for my resignation as Steve assumed. They make my life a little unpleasant but they are such nothings when you get down to it.

I dont think you should worry too much about the resignation and its possible effects on the party. In your writing-thinking in the last letter you say that if I were to impute lack of confidence to you comrades out there you would of course deny it, the same holding true for the Toronto branch if I were to give as my reason that it showed lack of confidence in me. Of course I have no interest in blaming anyone or anything for my actions. I am alone responsible for them.

I don't think there is going to be any reaction in the party. Who is in a position to re-act. Three of you out there were going to suggest what in effect is the same thing. Whitney + think will have no objections for surely he too knows of your proposed change. At anyrate I am enclosing a letter that he sent to Joe and I--Joe and I equally. He has little grounds. Angus I know will say nothing. The PC has agreed. Toronto branch will have nothing to say.

At anyrate I am not too clear how a fade-out temporary or otherwise, would look so much different from a resignation to Steve or anyone else for that matter. Everyone knows that Ross has been the object of a big scale campaign. The same feeling, or approximately the same feeling anyway would have arisen if we had carried out your proposal that I should fade-away. ~~XX~~ You recall once when we were talking about me making way for Murray you said we couldn't do it for it would look like a victory to Joe. You ask me Barry how am I going to answer enquiries as to why I resigned. I might ask you how were you comrades going to answer enquiries as to why we carried out your proposed shift over. I am prepared to answer with the very reasons that you give ; to ease the strain off Ross who has been on a tough job for so long, to give others a chance to develop and even another one you give in another letter, that it might have a salutary effect on the toronto branch

I am not at all sure that a resignation is a political act and a political act alone. ~~Somehow~~ If it were so then of course I would have on grounds for my act...for there are no political ones. But of course contrary to what you say there is an immediate change in personnel occurring. When Murray arrives here and gets settled down with a job I intend to cease writing the minutes of the PC or any of the official party correspondence. Of course if necessary I will ghost write on Murray's behalf. When you arrive I hope that we can agree that I should leave Toronto. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Of course you and Murray must take over. I am surprised that you say that you "really don't know." I wish to go to Windsor as the three of you planned and surely you don't think Murray can handle this job himself. You must know that there is more than ever with the bookstore. Once we get it really going I figure that it will take at least half a day of someones time. Surely you must have been a key man in your own plans as to how we should handle things. At anyrate I consider you to be ~~a~~ And in effect we are carrying out your plan. I see no reason when you return why you should live with your folks. I am quite positive Murray is going to go into industry. You will go on the payroll--which can now handle \$20. We will make some arrangement to support you even better than in the style to which you are accustomed. You could possibly live with Jean and Lois. When I start to work wherever I do in Windsor I don't intend to live in any higher style than I am now...and certainly no higher than you. I will send in plenty of money.

The switch in my opinion has to be looked upon as a more permanent one than you appear to have looked upon it. I do not see how going to "Windsor" can be properly posed as a temporary move. Either we are going to colonize Windsor or we are not. The branch has to be built almost from scratch and it is of course a long and patient task. Now a person living and working in Windsor could be national secretary of the party in anyway shape or form I do not quite understand. If it is at all necessary in your mind ~~advisable to make a change~~ or advisable in my mind to make a change I think it has to be carried out in the real spirit of a change.

Let us not bother about rangling over the last episode, the PC, the party builder and the fraction votes. Life is moving fast here. At next weeks meeting the Toronto branch will decide to completely ditch its past educational procedures and hold an educational every other week, the other week's meeting being a business meeting. I don't see what more can be profitably said about that past experience. We are turning the same arguments back on one another--one of the reasons we wanted to go to the bulletin was to put the discussion on a sane basis, not he said, I feel this and that and I see you think that the bulletin would have done just that. In the discussion the other night when we took the vote Bill made the bulk of his speech the executive's contribution to the bulletin. It was the most clear attack on Bolshevism that I have yet heard. The branch passed the motions on the basis that "tactics are the property of the fractions and nobody elses...." "decisions belong only to those who have to carry them out." Various comments such as "persons who didn't have even the slightest idea what a union hall looked like voted on union questions...." the comrades involved did not have the final say....where everybody voted in the branch we have had only bad experiences..to my surprise we learned that Jimmy Brennan did n't leave us to take up boxing but because he was disgusted with the tactics Joe had to follow in pacifying house, tactics dictated by the branch....etc, etc.

I hope you don't think that anyone thought you sent the minutes out to the various NC members for any other purpose than to help develop the N.C. But don't you think anyway that there is considerable possibility that it can lead to more confusion than clarity.

I know you must be a bit impatient for the why and the wherefore of my RESIGNATION. but I am going to ask you Barry to let it ride. It is a rather long and tortuous and tortured affair. Since it is not going to be required that we make it public property I don't think we really need to go into it. I have as you know no compunction about

telling you all, going into my innermost feelings about the past period but it has been a very painful one for me and I feel that there is nothing to be gained. As you know I am a very sensitive person, probably oversensitive, I hate introspection. I think it can only be of a sort of clinical interest. Will you bear with me. Sometime when we are over swimming at the Island we can talk about it. To explain it by letter would only lead to a long soul searching probably profitless correspondence.

I really must get this letter away. Haven't even started on the paper. Are you going to be able to send in anything. We must have all copy in by this coming Monday morning or Tuesday at the latest.

Received your xmas present. Haven't had a chance to check the changes into my copy. They appear to be nothing though. I am really breathless to know what our old minority is going to do. If they are smart they will do nothing for in Toronto they are carrying their line on everything and they must know they will get no where elsewhere. But maybe they aren't smart. They've been taken for a ride but we may get some big bucks from them.

But as I was saying I must leave as I have to walk home and it takes exactly one hour to do it. But before I do I wish you would devise some way of getting the branch secretary into operation again, sending copies of the minutes to the N.O. The National Office must have some kind of connection with Vancouver when you are gone. I see there was no way of getting out of being branch organizer but I think it is nonetheless has some unfortunate aspects. When you leave we have to be sure that there is no vacuum. Either we must have a copy of the minutes which is no trouble at all if the secretary has a typewriter or we must have someone send in a formal once a month report. Reg hasn't dropped us a line since a month before the convention. We have little or no idea what is happening in Vancouver. For instance you raised the matter of the big protest developing in B.C. over the draft. But we didn't know anything about the reaction of the clubs until we got a copy of the CCF NEWS the next week which contained a couple of club reports.

Remember that Wes McCullough who came down to the office somewhere back with Myrtle Morrison. He has sent us in a couple of letters and he appears to be coming very close to us. Hugh is pulling off a big distribution of the last issue at a coming Ford local meeting. Of course you got the news from my letter about the splendid development in Trail. Steve seems a little upset that both Lefevre and his fellow Harvey---want to stay in the CCF but this may well set him off into doing some serious CCF work again. Ken when on his holidays in Montreal met through his brother what he considers an excellent contact. We are putting Murray in touch with him along with another name---of someone who wrote in for the paper.

But as I was saying the TTC strike is going strong and I must walk home. Would you like me to send you my copy of the Bending Cross...a terrific job. I have been reading it on the street car. How are you fixed for dough---are you working. Haven't received any B.C. Lumberworkers. We could very well do with a list of CCFers for mailing purposes. Could we really get started working on such a project.. But as I said before---

the very best Barry

Ross

The port wines are the sweet ones...but don't get drunk on them---you will either become slobbery drunk or rip roaring wild screaming drunk...in either case a disgrace to us---try Manhattan's

January 7, 1951

in order to be less of a fool than yesterday

Dear Barry

Here I go again, making a bit of a fool of myself but I want you to know that I think you did a good job of the changes in the political resolution. Tonight I had to come home and give a bit of a hand with some of the work around the house...have just finished ironing six or seven shirts. And now I have just finished putting in your and Reg's corrections into my copy..in the process studying closely the whole thing.

I see after rereading Reg's contribution to the convention discussion, refreshing myself so to speak, that my opposition to it was not so much the concrete changes proposed as the later half on the unions and the CCF..pages 3, 4, and 5 of his document. Most of the changes of themselves are merely a matter of style. These changes I do not think are an improvement on your style but if such a comrade as Reg wishes them you are absolutely correct in making them.

There are really only two changes of importance in my opinion --paragraphs 62 and 92. I am glad you were able to convince Reg to keep paragraph 92 and I think you did an excellent job in changing it...really a purposeful amplification. The changes in paragraph 62 I tend to disagree with. I agree that there may well be no need to be so positive but I don't see just what the change does--if the ~~that~~ is well established and there is little doubt. Probably my first more strenuous objection to this change flowed not so much from it itself but from seeing it through pages 3 4 and 5 of the document. In so far as the change in itself doesn't mean anything in relation to our work I would concur in it also.

The change at the top of page 10---wouldn't it have been even a little more precise to have said --at the time the workers are being driven to to seek more radical solutions to their problems. It is true ~~that~~ as Reg says that they are not joining the CCF and to some extent not turning to it which is again different. Immediately they are not even more receptive to radical solutions---but they are being driven in that direction.

submit them for PC consideration and dispensation. I wonder what do you think the procedure should be with this. I note you may that we have widely different viewpoints or perhaps I should say had anyway. Some might consider that it involves encroaching on the convention. There is something to be said for accepting them as the final word

warmest regards

Ross

Note by R.D. →

Not Sent

November 23, 1951

Dear Murray and Barry;

From your last letter Murray, I gather you will be leaving for the East upon your return from Prince Rupert. You have given us no idea of your intentions, Barry, but I tend to gather from one or two short notes that you are contemplating staying in Vancouver for another few months anyway.

Since this matter will be decided within the next few days, ^{and} possibly ^{to the effect} that you Barry should stay there for a period, I am writing you this note. I do not intend that this note should effect in any way shape or form the above decision. I write it only so that the two of you can have the type of discussion that it is not possible to have by mail.a discussion that is not immediately related to the above but has much to do with our future deployment of personell.

On the question of Barry staying in Vancouver for a period I have no opinion. From the political point of view I see ~~merit~~ merit from both points of view...and ~~there is~~ in complete agreement with the decision you make either way.

As things stood when you left, Murray was returning to Toronto and then going off to Windsor. This matter should be reconsidered in my opinion. Hugh has just written me a note in which he says that "Don, Joan and I, as the previous letter indicate have started to cut some ice. On the other hand maybe more can be achieved by Murray on the West Coast. Personally I find Windsor very binding...what I am saying in effect--Let the chips fall where they may---I may pull out in two or three months unless something spectacular enough to attract my interest, be it political or personal. I'll put it this way...it is a 50-50 proposition. I hope you, in spite of my inconsistency, gather my sentiment. I intend in view of the fact I have no money, I cannot leave at least until late February...I will wait until I at least have your comments. I shall discuss it at Christmas with you. I thought you may like to know this as it effects whether Murray stays in Vancouver or comes to Windsor."

You should discuss what my attitude should be to Hugh..it is only three weeks away. I do not believe that we should press him to stay in Windsor. From a personal point of view, recreation, facilities for enjoying life, Windsor is just a small town, Hugh is cut off from Detroit. In my opinion Hugh has put up with a great deal in Windsor over the past several years. Potzert is such a prima donna, and Borland didn't contribute anything good. And to be Frank despite all his good characteristics, there is no one more loyal to the party and more prepared to do what is asked of him than he, Hugh just doesn't know how to work on his own. He has talked about pulling out of Windsor for a long time, we have stalled him and stalled him, the last one being the promise of Murray arriving. I don't know how much this above letter is the product of a temporary mood that ~~will be removed~~ ^{could} be removed ~~immediately~~ upon Murray's arrival. Last time he was in, as the tour extended itself past all our expectations, he made a casual remark that he doubted that Murray intended to come. I am inclined to believe as soon as Murray showed on the scene all this would dissipate however there may be more to it than that. If Murray is here by Christmas we can leave the whole matter to be very candidly discussed then and a decision made then. This would solve you worrying over all the ins and out of the matter at this time. We could let it go with the sending of a pleasant letter to Hugh telling him in passing that we will see him at Christmas.

However there is something more posed in this question of personell. I have tried to raise this matter for a long time but it has been ~~brushed~~ brushed aside. I raise it again for I believe that it must be honestly and quite fearlessly faced. I raised it when we first talked about you, Murray, pulling out of Montreal and the proposals about Windsor came out. I satisfied myself that the party has to try to get something more concrete out of Windsor and that its greatest need was to send Murray there ~~and~~ ^{we} have been satisfied

★

with such comments that to replace you as national secretary would only signify in every-
ones mind a victory for Rose, ~~and~~ the belief that financially we were hamstrung, the
flattering to my ego concept that I, despite everything else, was the most suited and
so on.....

~~Now that we are in the position of re-considering the whole matter~~
of Hugh and Windsor, what we shall do with you Murray, I feel I must insist that this question
of my continuing on as national secretary be given a serious consideration. We are now, it
seems to me, ~~in~~ in a much better position to resolve the matter and I have had much more
opportunity to study the question.

I am convinced that we should make a change, that ~~xxxxx~~ we should let Hugh pull
out of Windsor, that you Murray should stay in Toronto and take over the position with
Barry's aid. From a financial point of view this is highly practical as I gather Barry would
be prepared to work full time for the party within the \$20 ~~xxxxxxx~~ a week financial
capacity of the party and you Murray could get a well-paying job without much difficulty here.
Both of you are good writers, have put the paper out, can speak well and are now as familiar
with the problems of the various comrades scattered across the country as I am, in fact more
up to date. From a practical point of view I do not see that anything at all stands in the way
of our making this change. Of course it need not effect Barry staying in Vancouver for the
winter as I would be prepared if we considered this change advisable to work on in my present
capacity until he arrived here.

In the interests of the party, particularly in the interests of the Toronto branch I
think it is ~~advisable~~ that we make this proposed change. From the point of view of my own
peace of mind, my own political confidence I think it advisable. Besides I have been at
this post now for many years and it is necessary that any human being have a bit of a change
now and then. I would like to see myself if I can really help to build this movement of ours
...I would like to get back into a factory for a change. I know that I swore I never again
would ~~work~~ work for a living, waste my time at a machine, but I think it would be good for
me to take a swat at it again, if only for a while. The above few lines of personal comment-
aries are strictly secondary matters for consideration.

I do ~~not~~ not feel that I am of sufficient stature to meet the demands of national secretary
that in many ways ~~xxxxx~~ my personality is lacking. This is of course almost the unanimous, if
not the unanimous, opinion of the party. I say this with no animosity and indeed in many
ways without a feeling of insufficiency. The job is a colossal one, when the movement is
forced by objective circumstances to be so turned inwards, with such great ambitions and
such limited personnel to draw from.

I hope you will not feel that it was that last letter you sent me. True it staggered
me when I considered who I had addressed my letter to and the way I had posed the matters
so speculatively, leaving so many loopholes ~~xxxxxxx~~ that I could be wrong. It's not this
letter nor any other particular letter or event.

Over a long time ~~xxxxx~~ with much evidence to observe I have concluded that I have too small
a personality for the job of national secretary. Everybody has agreed and tried to reform it
most insistently but I am afraid with no real success. Even though I know that Ed for instance
is a dead-end as far as building the party is concerned and my chief concern should be to make
him happy and take what he can give I just cant bring myself to leave him alone when say
the name of a fellow whom Wally Ross says is a left wing socialist is turned over to the
CCF committee room he is in charge of and he does not a thing to get in touch with this left
winger. I cant help but get incensed when on the one day that ~~xxxxx~~ come down to do a little
work around the headquarters ~~xxxxx~~ and ~~xxxxx~~ about why isn't so and so down working here.
I boil when I hear Jim make stupid and sweeping proposals of what we should do and then
witness him make little or no pledge to the financial drive and turn up at one sub rally.
I am thrown into a rage when BS ~~xxxxx~~ in a paper discussion starts off with two words
about an article written by another comrade; bombastic, beat-beating, just the two words then
it throws in stupid.

I should restrain myself, the answer should be appropriate to the importance of the point and the individual who raises it. I honestly think I do, that is the amusing part of it all. Boy if I only said what I really think and feel. But no matter how I restrain myself, attempt to keep myself in curb, I appear to answer or make a contribution which upsets the tender sensitivity of others. Dick made the observation the other day that he thinks I am of the opinion that everyone is a jerk and a fool.

When Joe hisses out "And I suppose I don't know anything about art either" and I reply with what to me is a great understatement "I'm afraid you don't." this shocks some. When Whitney asks who the hell wrote the Political Resolution. And I ask friendly why, and what's wrong with it and he rants what a hodge podge, mish mash looks as if somebody threw it together from about twenty places and I say casually that's chicken shit, what do you think of it politically...that shocks Hansen and you I think Barry.

Well that's me. I have been long aware of this reaction to my unfortunate personality but that's me and I am 34 years old. All this would be nothing in a rank and file comrade even in one of the leading comrades but in the national secretary it is quite a different ~~thing~~ matter. ~~Yxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ And I hope you can appreciate that a man can't be happy as national secretary, editor of the paper, ~~xxxxxx~~ the ~~am~~ upon whom the responsibility rests to make a branch sub drive and a financial drive a success, knowing all the time that everyone thinks that in many ways he is a son of a bitch, that one of their main tasks in the movement is to reform his personality

There is, as Joe once said, a crisis in the Canadian party--the crisis he named as Ross Dowson, the personality of Ross Dowson. I hope you won't think me unfair but when I managed to put down your letter I could only conclude that you (in a ~~xxxxxx~~ different way of course) think the same. You interpret my letter as almost being the ravings of a psychopath...that I had no confidence in you or anyone else. I kept a copy of my letter and reading it over I think it quite a reasoned one based on some correspondence from you. I think what you wrote was very much open to my interpretation particularly when you know that we do ~~xxxxxx~~ or did have minor tactical differences, over Reg's document, over the whole handling of the convention etc. At anyrate you will note for yourself that your whole reply went the way of an analysis of my personality...the old whipping boy.

I think that both of you can appreciate that there is not one more soul destroying than this re-curring theme, no matter ~~xxxx~~ at what different note different comrades play it. I think there must be some attempt made at a resolution of this problem...and I am afraid that it must commence not with the old reform theme but with some organizational changes. The lines are hard drawn in the Toronto branch, nothing almost is decided on its merits but on a factional line-up...my impression, if I may be so bold as to read into your correspondence is that there is considerable antipathy towards myself throughout the party. Then doesn't it appear obvious that we should attempt to really come to grips with the problem.

To me it is most obvious that as a national secretary I am a miserable failure. I hope you won't pass this off as a temporary mood of mine. I have been torn with doubts for many years, I surely don't need any shock treatment to arouse me to an awareness of the problem. What I think is necessary is that we come to grips with it. When there was just you and I Murray there was not much latitude for solution. But the party now has in you Barry ~~a really~~ ~~who~~ permits us to cope with it. I think that the two of you working together could do an excellent job. I am also convinced that I could build a branch wherever I were to go. All in all we have everything to gain.

I hope that you will talk this matter over very candidly before you break up, that is if you decide to return at different times. I see no need to further correspond on this matter

with warmest regards


Ross

I hope you won't pull a Freud on me and put this down to mental sickness. Yes I am working hard but am in good health.

62 1/2 Elm Street
Toronto 2, Ont.

Life
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Letters to the Editor

Sir;

General Orlov's revelations on the Moscow Trials were extremely interesting and a complete vindication of the enquiry conducted by the late eminent U.S. philosopher John Dewey. Perhaps General Orlov has an equally interesting story to tell on the role of the GPU in Spain in the '30s.

Jesus Hernandez, leader of the Spanish Communist Party and a cabinet minister of the Popular Front Government during the Spanish Civil War has just published a book in Mexico entitled YO FUI UN MINISTRO DE STALIN, "I was a Minister of Stalin." He mentions an Orlov, head of the GPU in Spain, as the person who ordered the imprisonment and murder of Andres Nin, a former secretary of Leon Trotsky and the leader of the antiStalinist Workers Party of Marxist Unification(POUM). The GPU attempted to make Nin "confess" to being a Franco agent in the style of the Moscow "confession" trials, and failing, ended up murdering him.

Hernandez also states that the GPU, headed by the same Orlov, was on the point of assassinating Prieto, then minister of defence and later premier. The murder was to appear as a motor accident but the GPU was overruled by the Political Bureau of the Spanish Communist Party for political reasons.

Is Hernandez's Orlov General Orlov who states that he was in Spain in this period?

sincerely .

Ross Dowson

October 13, 1953

To the Editor of the Militant —NOT FOR PUBLICATION

Dear Comrade;

I was quite surprised upon opening a copy of the Militant this morning to read an editorialized version of my letter to comrade Keller in the Letters to the Editor Column.

This letter was not meant for publication for several reasons and I think that this should have been apparent to you. It was addressed to Comrade Keller. The letter was written in a personal vein, attempting not so much to rally all the arguments as to pose a problem for comrade Keller's consideration and possible subsequent correspondence with the author. I am not for one moment attempting to get from under what is said in this letter but if I had written it for publication I would have written it much differently—the personal letter having somewhat the same relationship to the letter for publication as the extemporaneous street-corner speech to its editorialized version appearing in the party press.

It is obvious that you yourself thought that the letter was not written for publication—or let us rather say that at least as it stood it was not satisfactory for publication for many changes have been made in it; true most of them of a minor character. But I think that some of them are of more than a minor character and beyond the province of any editor. Particularly when the editor devotes considerable space to answer—for he is refuting a letter which he himself has to some extent shaped.

I find it rather amusing and to some extent astounding that you should answer a letter to which you append my name with arguments which you have culled out of the original version of the letter. In the original version due recognition is given to the fact that the CCF M.P.'s did not urge workers' control but government administration of the munitions plants. This is cut out of the letter as it appeared in print. But the answer that the editor develops to sustain his view draws this to the attention of the readers at large and uses it as a polemical point in answer to the views of his correspondent. The original letter discusses the demand of nationalization of the munitions plants within the framework of other transitional demands, true in a limited sense. This is removed from the letter as it appears in print. But the editor in his reply makes much of this very question...that this demand must be considered in relationship to the rest of our demands.

I am raising all this not to attempt in anyway to sustain the opinions in my letter but to challenge the correctness of the whole procedure that you have followed in publishing this letter. In my opinion one has a right to demand that everything appearing over his name be his. There can be no objection to grammatical changes but when it comes to switching sections around, deleting portions, that is another matter and should have the agreement of the author. Time here was no factor and if it was thought desirable to publish the letter permission could have been easily sought. I think it absolutely inadvisable to tamper with a letter which expresses serious differences and to which it is thought necessary to make a reply—even when the person involved is one who has all the good will and the disciplined attitude that a comrade should have.

I think that an error has been committed here of a type that we cannot afford to repeat.

with warmest regards

Paul Kane

(Ross P.)

Trotskyites Said Trying To Infiltrate CCF Ranks

TUES NOV 23/53 G & M

A charge that the Trotskyites, of the Canadian Congress of Labor, whose own political party in Canada folded for lack of supporters, are attempting to infiltrate the CCF was made last night at the Toronto Labor Council (CIO-CCL) by council president Dave Archer. His platform in York Township was based on that of the labor council, he added.

Mr. Archer asked Dowson: "Are you a member of the Trotskyite Party?"

"There is no Trotskyist Party," replied Dowson.

Mr. Archer fired off his accusation in a successful effort to stave off council endorsement of Murray Dowson, one-time Workers Revolutionary Party candidate for mayor. "Do you subscribe to the fourth international," the council president persisted.

"No," Mr. Dowson replied.

In contrast to the earlier sentiment at the meeting before the Trotskyite issue was raised, only a handful of delegates voted to support council endorsement of Dowson.

Sentiment in the labor body until Mr. Archer raised the issue of Trotskyism was running in favor of endorsing Mr. Dowson for councillor in Ward 1 of York Township. The council also refused to endorse Reg Screen, president of the CCM local of the United Auto Workers, who is candidate for deputy reeve in York Township. No detailed explanation was given.

The council's Political Action Committee had declined to endorse Mr. Dowson, but a weak-kneed explanation that members of the committee felt Dowson was not well enough known only brought a rush of protests from council delegates. They noted the candidate's untiring efforts on behalf of Joe Noseworthy (CCF, South York) in the last federal campaign.

It took Mr. Archer to pin the reason for the refusal of the committee to endorse Mr. Dowson.

"I think the political action committee should be more honest with the delegates," declared Mr. Archer.

Then, looking at Mr. Dowson, who has attended council meetings as a delegate for more than a year, Mr. Archer said:

"Mr. Dowson is a Trotskyite."

Although the party had folded in Canada, none of the members had repudiated the doctrine of the fourth international (a movement founded by Leon Trotsky after he broke with the third international of communism).

The Trotskyites were attempting to carry on in the CCF "if they (CCF) are silly enough to let them in," Mr. Archer said.

There was no basic difference between the fundamentals of communism and the Trotskyites, he added.

Mr. Dowson in his defense said he had always voted CCF and subscribed to the political platform

Dear Neighbour:

The future belongs to the youth! A commonplace statement but nonetheless a true one. The Board of Education perhaps more than any other municipal institution has to do with the youth. It is its responsibility to see that our youth obtain the best possible education; one that will prepare them to meet whatever problems will confront them in later years.

Unfortunately the overwhelming majority of the members of the Board look upon their office as merely a step upward to higher office in the political machines of the two old line parties. The bulk of them have little understanding of educational matters and little sympathy for the problems of teachers, parents or pupils; particularly when the problem imperils their political future as Liberal or Tory representatives of the vested interests in the community.

Last year Toronto was threatened by a strike of all secondary school teachers. For three years the Secondary School Teachers Federation had been attempting to get the Board to restore to them their own salary schedule and independent bargaining rights. Quite moderate demands, but how did the Board act? The Board conducted itself in the same arrogant way that the most vicious anti-labor employers treat the unions of the workers.

The Board shoved the matter into the hands of a sub-committee so that it would not become property of the Board itself and thus become public property. The teachers, not wishing to strike, in order to get a hearing from the highhanded Board, decided to threaten to withdraw from supervising extra curricular activities during after-school hours. The students quite correctly expressed sympathy for their teachers. Then Board officials barred the Student Councils from further access to school facilities and even went so far as to suspend the usual school assemblies. I am sure you do not agree with such arrogant actions by the Board in its relations with the pupils and the teachers. But that is what happens when persons who do not represent the working people get elected.

The present Board operates on the basis that its concern stops and starts with the schools. But what good the schools do can easily be undone by conditions that confront the students outside of school. When the City Council lifted rent controls this Fall it created conditions detrimental to our students' development. Thousands of pupils have been thrust into more crowded living quarters. Due to higher rents their parents have less to spend on necessary nourishing foods. In my opinion such questions as housing and rent controls are of the utmost importance to the Board of Education. In this case, trustees really concerned about education would have gone on deputation to the City Council in support of the campaign for maintenance of controls.

If elected I will do all in my power to represent you. While only 25 years of age I have a good record of participation in the struggle to put humanity first. I was for two years a school teacher and member of the Ontario Public School Teachers Federation. I am a member of the Tenant and Ratepayers Association which led the campaign for maintenance of Rent controls. I was an organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and have been a member of the CCF for six years. My campaign for Ward 2 School Trustee is being sponsored by the Rosedale CCF Youth. I am married and live at 314 Wellesley Street East in your ward. Any help that you can offer will be gratefully accepted.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Houle



RUTH HOULE



VOTE HOULE VOTE LABOR

BOARD OF EDUCATION WARD 2

- For increased provincial and federal grants to education to ease the rising costs from the shoulders of the small homeowners. For the return of provincial aid in the building of what the Tory Minister of Education has falsely called "frills"—gymnasiums, auditoriums, home economics classes, etc.
- For no lowering in teachers' qualifications. Retain those teachers we have, attract former teachers back, and win new people to the profession, by making teaching more attractive. Eliminate all forms of discrimination against women teachers, give consideration for extra-curricular work, provide secretarial aid, better educational facilities, make the classes smaller.
- Representation by population on the Metropolitan Board of Education. Ward 2 with many times the number of electors of Ward 3, a businessman's ward, has now only the same representation.
- Free milk for all public school children. Provide cafeteria facilities for public schools and those high schools that do not have them.
- For the withdrawal of anti-democratic bans against any group of citizens who wish to use the public's school properties.
- Encourage parent's organizations, student's councils in discussion and preparation of school curriculum. For closer contact between school and home.

January 9, 1954.

A regular meeting of Rosedale CCF Youth was held on Tuesday, January 4, 1955 at the Workman's Circle, 206 Beverley St. Present were: Giles Eddicott, George Bryant, Wally Mitchell, Bruce Batten, Jerry Horowitz, Joe Rosenblatt, Ray Coe, Ray Seigal, Len Soifert, Jerry Houle and Ruth Houle

Educational - the educational was held first for this meeting since setting up of the apparatus disturbed the business. Two movies were shown: "Unity is Strength" and "The Shop Steward". George Bryant operated the machine. Both of these films were excellent and would be well worth showing some time in the future.

Business - The first item of business was a discussion of the "document" which the club wishes to send out to other clubs and members re the arrogant treatment shown to Rosedale club by the provincial executive and Provincial Council Meeting. Moved by Len Soifert that a document be written re expulsion or treatment of Rosedale CCF Youth Club by a committee subject to the approval of the Club. Carried. Moved/ George Bryant that a committee of three be set up to write the document and that they present it to next weeks meeting with a copy for each person so that the club as a whole may amend and approve it. Carried. Those elected to the committee were Ruth Houle, Ray Seigal and Ray Coe.

It was agreed that discussion of the document would require considerable time at the next meeting therefore moved/ Bruce Batten that next week's meeting (Jan. 11) consist of the educational and discussion of the document only-carried.

Finance - Moved That Ruth Houle be reimbursed a \$1.40 for the films which she procured. Carried. A finance report was given by the secretary-treas. Balance on hand as of Jan 4th. was \$12.08.

66666espondance - Secretaty read a Progress Report from Camp Three Arrows.

Also an announcement re the coming Box Social on Feb. 5th. and the Rummage Sale to be held tentatively on Feb. 19th. Asked club to donate any used articles possible to sale.

Headquarters - Ray Seigal checked with the Janitor re rent on room at Workman's Circle. Apparently they will not charge rent for the use of the room but expect the caretaker to be tipped occasionally. Club decided to let things ride on that basis for the time being.

The meeting adjourned about 10:30.

New York, N.Y.
April 21, 1954

*S.E.L.
(Canada)*

Iceland

Dear Kane:

Your statement on the Iceland split just arrived. The current issue of the paper is already locked up, so we will report the main points of the article in the May 3 issue. Your account of the split will be published in full in an information bulletin now in preparation.

All here feel that you comrades have made a splendid fight and have done well in whittling down Pabloite support to a minimum.

Pablo's IS has just confirmed their mid-June schedule for the rump congress. In a few days we will send you translations of their material and our views on the question.

Comradely,

Smith

(JPC?)

New York, N.Y.
September 8, 1954

(S.E.L., Canada)

Iceland

Dear Kane:

We received your August 17 report on your convention and have forwarded it abroad as you requested.

All here feel that the gathering marked an important milestone in the progress of the group. With the defeat of the Pabloite liquidators in your ranks, a new solidarity has been forged, based on a common fundamental outlook that augurs well for the future.

Comradely,

Smith

(J.P.C.?)

October 8, 1954

Dear Farrell;

We have noticed from the minutes that the next session of the school is being prepared.

At our recent rally, following Clara's report, we decided that we would ask permission of you to send one of us to the next school. Somewhile back if I recall correctly you made such an offer so in essence we decided that we must find some way of taking advantage of it.

In appreciation of the fact that you have many who have the qualifications for a place in the school and that it is a considerable burden that you have taken on in financing it we feel that we have only four or perhaps five persons in our ranks who can meet the standards. From our minutes that you received yesterday you probably noticed with surprise that we are going ahead as if you had agreed to take one of us at the next school by deciding to approach one of our West Coast people. We felt that we were justified in this because of previous commitments that you made but even more so because of the short time at our disposal. We noted that nominations have to be in within a couple of weeks. Since the school is for six months obviously a ~~nominee~~ nominee requires a little time to consider the matter.

~~Therefore~~ I do not think that those in charge of this project need make any allowances for our attempts to present you with a nominee at this time. It is quite possible that we will end up without a nominee....a six month period is much too long for me for instance to take advantage of this project. I would suggest that the committee carry on as before but with the knowledge that it is possible that there may be a nominee from an unexpected source. Should we end up with a candidate we don't want any special allowances to be made. We would like our nominee's name ~~and~~ and qualifications to be considered on the same basis as others' will be considered.

I will certainly let you know what comes of this just as soon as possible.

fraternally

Kane

“Talk introducing Transitional Program”

(Handwritten notes by R.D.: Speech point form retained; transitional additions & explanations by the Editor)

(We have) just come through a struggle where the validity of the Transitional Program has been questioned

Our Canadian Pablists didn't amplify or detail their criticism (*Pablists followers of an international liquidationist tendency led by Michel Pablo – see associated documents of this period*). (They) generally tried to make it one (a critique) of bringing it (the transitional program) up to date – in the light of new developments

(We have) no objection to this necessary (critique, but they) raised the matter as if we who said we were orthodox Trotskyists were really dogmatists – (but) predictions were the least important aspects of the 1938 program – while (their) criticisms (were) never concretized

Pablo was very concrete – (*quotes Joe Hansen, a leader of the US-SWP*). More than leaving out a call for a USSR (Russian) party of the F.I. (Fourth International, is at issue here). Pablo doesn't criticise predictions – but what the 1938 statement outlined as the correct tactic

This is no accident – for any real reviser of our views would certainly have to come to grips with the Transitional Program

The term – “Transitional” – LT (Trotsky) 1938: “a program for action from today until the beginning of the socialist revolution expresses the general tendency of development in the whole world.” Nothing dealing with the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, the construction of society following the revolution

(Trotsky's) predictions are always conditional – relative not absolute. A prognosis is not a promissory note. It outlines only the definite trends of a development. All who seek predictions of concrete events should consult the astrologists – a Marxist prognosis aids only in orientation. Program isn't a prognosis – for ready predictions and promises. It is an orientation based on past experiences

The significance of the Transitional Program: In 1938 the FI (Fourth International) was founded – the fundamental consolidation of the 1934 turn. All turning back was cut off. We set the task of building mass revolutionary parties. The crisis of society is the crisis of leadership; only one (type of) leadership (suffices) – the FI, (with its) conception of revolutionary developments -- and their tempo – in the US, too – (see) Trotsky on the Labor Party, page 11 (*the SWP pamphlet*).

For us this program is our transitional program, not our whole program – for the workers it is our program

The significance of the program is the significance of the party. The cohesion of a party is its program. This cohesion is a common understanding of events of the tasks ahead – this common understanding is the program

Our Pablists are no longer interested in the party's cohesion, in conforming to its discipline as they rejected its program. The defence of the program is the defence of the party itself. That is why we Trotskyists discuss with such earnestness the questions of program – and the struggles in the party for it. (*Quote here of Lenin on Tolstoy -- not available*).

We are prepared to call a halt to (any further) action until we straighten out programmatic matters – only when we have the vanguard organized upon the basis of common conceptions can we act

We had a program prior to 1938 in different (documents), articles, (policy) motions. 1938 is the summation of our collective work up until then. Trotsky said it isn't a completed program. (At the same time) comments don't belong in it – comments and polemics against its adversaries

We should have a theoretical expansion of the modern capitalist society in its imperialist stage – the reasons of the crisis; the growth of the unemployed and so on. In this draft this analysis is briefly summarized only in the first chapter because we have written on this before

It expresses the general tendency of development in the whole world – a chapter on this and on that – but every country has its peculiar conditions and real politics. We must begin with these peculiar conditions

The Program must be elaborated – applied. There are two dangers: (1) to (only) repeat the general slogan – with no real connection with any real movement – that is, sectarian abstractions; (2) to adapt too much and lose the general revolutionary line.

We call ourselves scientific socialists. The scientific character of our activity consists in the fact that we adapt our program – not to political conjunctures or the thought and mood of the masses as this mood is today – but we adapt our program to the objective situation as it is represented by the economic class structure of society

The mentality (of the working class) can be backward – then the political task of the party is to bring the mentality into harmony with the objective facts – to make the workers understand the objective task

(The Social Democrats) (*the CCF in Canada –ed.*) make the program fit the (workers' present) mentality – (For them it is) not a question of interpreting the level of consciousness and then interpreting the program – but of shearing this and that (reform) off – adding this or that (reform) on –

Our program fits the objective situation – we cannot adapt the program to the backward mentality of the workers – their mentality, their mood is a secondary factor – the prime factor is the objective situation

Every science departs not from subjective wishes, tendencies, or moods – but from objective facts – from the material situation of the different classes and their relationships

Only by this method can we establish demands adequate to the objective situation – only after having done this can we adapt these demands and slogans to the given mentality of the masses

To begin with (by adopting) mentality as the fundamental fact would signify not a scientific but a conjunctural, demagogic or adventuristic policy

What are the prerequisites for a new society? (1) the productive forces are sufficiently developed to give birth to a higher society; (2) a new progressive class is sufficiently numerous and influential; (3) the subjective factor exists – the class must understand its position and have its own organizations; (the revolutionary organization) is **lacking today** (*emphasis by author*)

The proletariat can only (*is the only class that can*) come to an understanding of its position and develop the type of organization to impress its will on society on the basis of understanding the objective reality confronting it. (But) it can't be understood by the workers as a whole – it is good (the first step) if the vanguard (party) understands it

The Transitional Program is based on an objective analysis of the objective situation. The Transitional program is a program of action, it issues from the conditions of today (capitalism); it leads (the class) over the limits of capitalism (towards socialism). Concrete slogans corresponding to the needs of the workers will lead dialectically to the conquest of power

(end)

Significance of Transitional Program

1938 Founded FI — fundamental consolidation
of 1934 turn —

cut off all turning back

Set self task of building mass revolutionary parties

Crisis of society is crisis of leadership

only one leadership FI

Conception of revolutionary development — tempo — in US
two — LT on Labor Party page 11

For us this program is ~~our~~ transitional program —
not our whole program — for the workers it is
our program

Significance of program is the significance of the party

The cohesion of a party is ~~based on~~ its program

This cohesion is a common understanding of events, of
the tasks — this common understanding is the program

— Our Publicists no longer interested in the party's cohesion,
its conformity to its discipline as they rejected its program

— Defence of program is defence of party itself ~~for its~~
Why we Trotskyists discuss with such earnestness
the questions of program — struggles in party
Lenin on Tolstoy

We are prepared to call a halt to action until we straighten
programmatic matters — only when we have the vanguard
organized upon the basis of common conceptions
can we act

(Found in 1954 - Pablo dispute)

① So round so firm so fully packed
Want discussion
Succinct

Been Discussed fully

Probably be written different now

To some extent designed to smoke out Pabloists
Fundamentally though as would be written
today

Doesn't hurt to emphasize + re-emphasize
what our fundamental task is - building
the revolutionary party - purpose of
our entry - against liquidation

Pabloism or no Pabloism - entry - particularly
deep one - fraught with conciliatory st +
adaptationist dangers

Doesn't hurt to ^{re}affirm why we entered - to
build the entry party - our conception
of essentiality of entry party

1951 document examined relation of the class to
the CCF - level of class consciousness + experience, expectations

1954 examines the relation of the revolutionary
vanguard to the CCF and its tasks
in whole next period 1954-red.

Emphasizes role of consciousness in history,
essentiality of vanguard, of revolutionary
leadership. Page 3 para 3 not meant to
define tempo of development - but the course of development